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REPORT
ON THE
INDIANS OF UPPER CANADA.

The Sub-committee appointed to make a comprehensive inquiry into the state of the Aborigines of British North America, present thereupon the FIRST PART of their general report.

Countries in question. I. The countries which fall within the reference, appear to be as follows: the Canadas; New Brunswick; Nova Scotia; Cape Breton; Newfoundland; Prince Edward's Island; Anticosti; Labrador; the Hudson's Bay, and North West Companies' territories, including certain posts and settlements on the Northern Pacific; and Honduras.

Tribes. II. The tribes and classes of coloured men in question, are, Indians; Esquimaux; and descendants of Africans; with a considerable number of individuals of mixed blood.

Decay of population. III. The absence or defect of census of aborigines, is one of the evils requiring an immediate remedy in British North America in order that particular systems may be put to the test by its being seen, whether the native people increase, or diminish under their influence. But enough is known of their population in the most important places, both for times past, and at present to justify the conclusion, that they have long been declining in numbers, and that of late this diminution has been advancing with great and increasing rapidity.

IV. We propose limiting this first part of our report to Upper Canada.

Amount of population. Without entering upon the interesting story of the natives of Canada under the French domination, it is sufficient for our present object to state that even at the conquest in 1759, powerful tribes of Abenagua, Algonquin, Iroquois, Mississagua, and Huron Indians, occupied the country from below Quebec, to the furthest post then held by the French to protect their traders beyond Lake Erie. In 1721, Charlevoix, a high authority, estimated the population of *some* of Algonquin tribes at 6000 souls, but they were then diminishing daily under the influence of spirituous liquors, diseases, and other causes. (*Charlevoix, History of New France, vol. iii, p. 189.*) Some of the tribes of the Iroquois, with whom the French had many disastrous wars, were then estimated at 60,000 souls. (*Ib. p. 203*); and the Hurons who were settled in parts of Upper Canada, were extensive agriculturists, and a denser population. (*Ib. p. 198.*)

In 1759 the French colonists and traders amounted to about 60,000 souls, of whom a considerable number are believed to have been a mixed race, either illegitimate, or, in not unfrequent cases, sprung from marriages of French with Indians.

The peculiar injuries done to the Indians by both French and English exciting them to take part in wars in which they had no interest, but which aggravated all their natural passions of a dangerous and warlike tendency, ceased in 1763. At the same time the English had no longer motives to conciliate them, until the wars with the United States; and our general system was at least as mischievous to the Indians as that of the French.

The result is a reduction of the Indian population of the Canadas, to 43,000, at the highest estimate; *M'Taggart Three Years in Canada*) viz. 15,000 for Lower Canada, and 28,000 for Upper Canada; whilst the white population has risen to more than 900,000 souls. The officially estimated native population of Lower Canada in 1831, was 3437 souls in 687 families. (*House of Commons Papers, 1834. no. 617 p. 95.*)

The exact number of all the above mentioned tribes that received presents in Lower Canada, in 1828, was only 2922 souls, being the supposed mass of the Indian population; in Upper Canada it was only 9457. (*ib. p. 23.*)

Rights of the Indians. V. The rights of the Indians, &c., in their relations with Great Britain depend on the laws of nature and nations; upon the injunctions of Christianity and upon treaties; and those rights are especially to be collected from two documents of high authority, which contain clear declarations of the duty of the Government respecting them. The first concerns them all; the second is limited in terms to the Indians of Canada; but its spirit is general also.

The first document is part of an admirable body of instructions for the guidance of the Colonial Office of Charles II., issued in 1670.

The extract as to Indians is as follows:

"Forasmuch, it is there said, as most of our said colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are, in our name, to command all the governors, that they, at no time, give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us," &c.

Then, with respect to the Indians who desire to put themselves under our protection, that they "be received."

"And that the governors do by all ways seek firmly to oblige them.

"And that they do employ some persons to learn the languages of them.

"And that they do not only carefully protect and defend them from adversaries, but that they more especially take care that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants, do any way harm them.

"And that if any shall dare to offer any violence to them in their persons, goods or possessions, the said governors do severely punish the said injuries, agreeably to justice and right.

"And you are to consider how the Indians and slaves may be best instructed in and invited to the christian religion, it being both for the honour of the Crown and of the Protestant religion itself, that all persons within any of our territories, though never so remote, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the mysteries of salvation."

The second document is part of the proclamation of 1763, issued by his Majesty George III., upon the conquest of Canada. The extract is as follows:

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as not having been ceded to us are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do therefore with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander in chief in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do assume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patent for lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or north-west; or upon any lands whatever which *not having been ceded to or purchased by us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.*

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits and territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid: and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatsoever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatsoever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands which not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great *frauds and abuses* have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians: in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we had thought proper to allow settlement; but if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie; and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose: and we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever: provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out a licence for carrying on such trade, from the governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or our commissaries, to be appointed for this pur-

pose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade; and we do hereby authorise, enjoin, and require the governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government, as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, and the security forfeited in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of the Indian affairs within the territories reserved, as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever who, standing charged with treason, misprision of treason, murder, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice, and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 7th day of October, 1763, in the third year of our reign.—God save the King.

It is an important additional fact in regard to the light in which Indians of North America were once looked upon, that their rights are stipulated for in the treaty of Utrecht. But on the other hand, modern writers on the laws of nations seem inclined to exclude them from its benefits. And modern statesmen carry this theory further, so as to sacrifice them by positive injustice in practice. Sir Francis Bond Head recommended the discontinuance of payments due by treaty to certain tribes, on the ground of those tribes being at war with our present allies the people of the United States—a matter undoubtedly deserving grave consideration in reference to the point especially raised, viz., the supply of arms; but which also involves a question of international rights, on this occasion much too summarily disposed of by the Canadian Governor. Lord Glenelg hesitated to adopt his recommendation, but his lordship does not seem to have taken entirely a just view of the case. (*Message of Sir Francis Bond Head to the Legislature of Upper Canada, 29 January, 1838.*)

Wrongs of the Indians, VI. It is strictly within the limits of truth to say, that neither the Home Government, nor the Colonial authorities have acted up to the injunctions of those two documents of 1670, and 1763, which are unquestionably binding to this day; and the extent to which those injunctions have been neglected, fully accounts to us for the ruin of the Indians. That extent is proved,

1st. By the unjust and improvident manner in which the land of the Indians has been dealt with by us,—their insecurity of title,—and their actual removal from it in late remarkable cases under an oppressive and fraudulent treaty,—and by unjust contracts.

2nd. By the neglect of obvious means of securing justice to Indians in courts of law, in their participation of civil rights; and in just regulations of trading with them.

And 3rd. By the small provision of direct means of improving the Indians, in missions, in schools, and other institutions.

Unquestionably the various benefits contemplated by the royal instructions of 1670, have not been conferred: and the frauds and

abuses mentioned in the proclamation of 1763, have been repeated down to a very late period by the Government itself, instead of being repressed.

We shall prove the unworthiness of this course of neglect and injustice by producing incontrovertible evidence of the capacity of the Indians to become civilized, and of their desire to accept the elements of civilization at our hands, as well to be gradually incorporated with the colonists.

We shall also show that numerous colonists are anxious to promote the civilization of the Indians.

VII. The undue acquisition of the Indians' land, and encroachments upon it, are not new; and the personal appeals of their delegates to the crown have been frequent.

More than thirty years ago such a delegate, John Norton, had the countenance of the late Mr. Wilberforce. (*Life of Wilberforce, Vol. III.*) In 1822, the younger Brant and Colonel Kerr, came to London on such a mission for the six nations. Subsequently the Rev. Peter Jones has come over more than once for the Mississaguas of the River Credit, on the like errand. And the visit of Heshton-a-quet has shown the Indians of the River St. Clair to be in the same danger.

Other examples might be cited; and it is believed that none have produced proper results. The case however of the River Credit Indians, has some favourable aspects; and it will be mentioned fully.

But these visits have exhibited Indians to the impartial English public most favourably; and they in that respect, as well as in some others to be mentioned hereafter, deserve particular attention.

We pass by the earlier cases of alienation of land from the Indians of Upper Canada, amounting for example in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, to 4,680,000 acres acquired by the Government for annuities of £3512. (*Martin's North America, Vol. III. p. 261.*)

The sum due annually to these Indians from the Crown for lands acquired from them, was stated in the Parliamentary Papers of 1834, at £5106 Currency, or £4426 Sterling. (*House of Commons Papers, 1834, No. 617, p. 54.*)

Those earlier cases, appear to be more remarkable for general neglect of a proper system of treatment of the Indians, than for any extreme oppression and injustice in the bargains made. They did not involve the REMOVAL of the Indians from the unimproved land sold, and still less the alienation of their improvements and farms. On the contrary, in the year 1823, a general reform of the old system was very seriously contemplated by the Secretary of State of that time, Earl Bathurst. One of your Subcommittee was in fact employed by the Secretary of State in 1823, to draw up a general plan for that reform, which had the approbation of the late Bishop of Quebec, the Honourable Dr. Stuart. But it was not acted upon.

VIII. Before 1828, however, a reform was begun by the Government in addition to what had been long doing

usefully by the Moravians, the New England Company, and other societies. It was pursued during eight or nine years with great success, although the plan was defective in several material points.

The character of what was accomplished may be inferred from the following extracts from the Parliamentary papers of 1834, No. 617.

In 1828 General Darling reported to Earl Dalhousie as follows on the subject.

The **MISSISSAQUAS** of Rice Lake, consisting of 317 souls and the **MOHAWKS** of Bay of Quinti, do not exceed 319 souls.—Of these, the Mississaguas of Bay of Quinti and the Rice Lake have recently been converted to Christianity by the Methodist Society, who have introduced missionarics among the Indians here and in every part of Upper Canada where they have been able to obtain a footing. These missionaries come chiefly from the United States, and belong to the "Canada Conference Missionary Society, auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the State of New York," from which they receive a small salary, seldom exceeding 40*l.* a year. * * * It is undoubted that they have done some good, by influencing the Indians to embrace Christianity, and have inculcated the first principles of civilization, particularly in the tribes now under consideration, which shows itself in the desire which they have recently expressed to be collected in a village, and have lands allotted them for cultivation.

The Mohawks of the Bay of Quinti were separated from the Mohawk nation about the year 1784, and settled in the Bay of Quinti; amongst these are some becoming tolerable farmers. They have in many instances assumed the dress of Europeans, which is sometimes mixed with their native attire, presenting a curious compound of barbarism and civilization.

CHIPPAWAS under the Chief Yellow Head.—These Indians amount upon an average to 550 souls; they occupy the lands about Lake Simcoe, Holland River, and the unsettled country in the rear of York. They have expressed a strong desire to be admitted to Christianity, and to adopt the habits of civilized life; in these respects they may be classed with the Mississaguas of the Bay of Quinti and Rice Lake, but are at present in a more savage state.

MISSISSAQUAS of the Credit.—The present state of this tribe, amounting to 180 souls, who were lately notorious for drunkenness and debauchery, affords, in my humble opinion, the strongest encouragement to extend to the other tribes now disposed to Christianity and civilization the experiment that has been tried by his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, with every promise of success with these Mississaguas.

They are now settled in a delightful spot on the banks of the Credit, about 16 miles from York, in a village consisting of 20 substantial log huts, 18 feet by 24, having an upper story or garret to each. They have a school-house for the boys (in which is combined decent arrangement for the performance of divine service, which is regularly attended,) and another for the girls.

The progress made in the former is highly creditable to the superintendent, considering the short time it has been established. I found it attended by 31 boys, mostly very young, who spelt and read fluently in English: they also answered several questions which I put to them promiscuously from the church catechism, and sung a hymn, remarkable for the loyalty of its sentiments. Finding the houses built for them too few for their numbers, they have added some of their own construction similar to those first erected.

They have two enclosures of about seven acres of wheat, and a field on the banks of the river, containing about 35 acres of Indian corn, in

a promising state of cultivation. A small plot is attached to each house for their potatoes or other garden stuff.

The expense of these buildings has not exceeded, I believe, 14l. currency each, say 250l. sterling on the whole.

A respectable Englishman, now a Methodist missionary, who receives a pension from the British Government for the loss of an arm in the late war, when he served in the provincial marine of Upper Canada, resides amongst these Indians, and as his feelings towards Great Britain have been well tried, there is every reason to hope that his exertions for the perfect civilization of his flock will be crowned with success.

MOHAWKS and the SIX NATIONS.—Under 2,000 souls are settled on the banks of the Ouse, or Grand River, a fine and fertile tract of country, which was purchased from the Chippawas (the Aborigines) exclusively from them when they were brought to this country from the Mohawk River, in the state of New York, at the termination of the revolutionary American war.

The proclamation of Sir F. Haldimand, which constitutes, I believe, their only title, allots them “six miles deep from each side of the river, beginning at Lake Erie, and extending in that proportion to the head of the river.”

They are now considered as having retained about 260,000 acres of land, mostly of the best quality. Their possessions were formerly more extensive, but large tracts have been sold by them, with the permission of His Majesty’s Government, the monies arising from which sales were either founded in England, or lent on interest in this country. The proceeds amount to about 1,500l. per annum.

The principal village, or Mohawk Castle, as it is called, consists now of half a dozen miserable huts, scattered without any order, and a paltry church.

The town was formerly more respectable; but the increasing scarcity of fuel in its neighbourhood and the fine quality of the soil induced them by degrees to separate and settle on the banks of the river, where they cultivate the ground in companies or bands, a certain number of families dividing amongst them the produce of certain numbers of acres. Their knowledge of farming is exceedingly limited, being chiefly confined to the cultivation of Indian corn, beans and potatoes; but those of more industrious habits follow the example of their white neighbours, and have separate farms, on which they raise most kind of English grain.

Were I to offer to your Lordship all the observations which appear to me worthy of attention respecting these ancient allies of His Majesty, this Report would assume the character of a history, and far exceed the expected limits. I hasten, therefore, to submit a statement, which has been compiled with great attention, showing their present possessions in houses, horses, cattle, &c.; viz.

Dwelling-houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	416
Computed number of acres of land in cultivation							6,872
Horses	-	-	-	-	-	-	738
Cows	-	-	-	-	-	-	869
Oxen	-	-	-	-	-	-	613
Sheep	-	-	-	-	-	-	192
Swine	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,630

I have already adverted to the introduction of Methodist missionaries and teachers amongst the Indians of Upper Canada, several of whom are found in this neighbourhood.

There is also an English Protestant missionary lately sent out from

London by the New England Corporation, a young man whose zeal and devotion to the cause in which he has embarked promise the best results, the Indians giving in all cases the preference to whatever is given or recommended by their great father to whatever comes from any other quarter. In earnest of their disposition to profit by and assist the labours of this minister, they have readily agreed, on my recommendation, to allot 100 acres of land to each school that may be established on the Grand River under his direction.

I submit with all deference whether it is not worthy the liberality of the British Government to encourage the disposition now shown generally amongst the resident Indians of this province, to shake off the rude habits of savage life, and to embrace Christianity and civilization.

It appears to me that this would not be attended with much expense. A small sum by way of salary to a schoolmaster wherever a school may be formed, say four or five in the whole; a trifling addition to the salary of the present missionary, who is paid by a society, and of a second if appointed, which I believe is contemplated by the Lord Bishop of the diocese; and some aid in building school-houses.

There are Chippawas who have prayed urgently for a missionary and schoolmaster to be sent amongst them.

In 1829, Sir James Kempt reported to the Secretary of State, Sir G. Murray, as follows on the subject

Settlement of the Indians.—The settling of the Indians, to which they have recently manifested a very general inclination, will gradually relieve His Majesty's Government from the expense of these presents, and eventually from that of the Indian department; but the discontinuance of their issue to the Indian settlers must be managed with great caution; for if they suspect it to be a consequence of their settlement, it will have a decided tendency to discourage that most desirable object. I am of opinion, however, that the Indians, when settled, would readily agree to the substitution of implements of husbandry, and seed, &c. for many of the gaudy and useless articles which now compose their presents, and which are daily falling in their estimation; but until a material improvement takes place in the habits of the Indians, it would be unwise to place at their disposal any commutation in *money* for those presents, of which they would in all probability make an improper use.

The Indians disposed to abandon the habits of savage life and to become settlers should become located in considerable bodies in villages, in the vicinity of other settlements, by whose example they might profit; and it will perhaps be expedient in the first instance to place those settlers under the superintendence of some person capable of instructing them in the first principles of farming. A blacksmith and carpenter would be indispensable appendages of those settlements. Assistance in the form of agricultural implements, seeds, rations, &c. will be required when they are originally located, the probable expense of which, estimated by two very intelligent officers of the Indian department, I have now the honour to enclose (No. 10); but I am of opinion that their calculation are greatly over-rated. The lease of a portion of the lands which the Indians possess in Upper Canada, as proposed by Sir John Colborne, is an advisable measure, and their rent, together with the commutation (4,426*l.* 10*s.* sterling), annually paid to a portion of these Indians (averaged at 10 dollars a head) in goods of the same description as the presents sent out from England (No. 11), might be advantageously appropriated towards defraying the expense of their location.

In conclusion, it appears that the most effectual means of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, of promoting their religious improve-

ment and education, and of eventually relieving His Majesty's Government from the expense of the Indian department, are,—

1st. To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, and to settle them in villages, with a due portion of land for their cultivation and support.

2d. To make such provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require.

3d. To afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agricultural implements as may be necessary, commuting, when practicable, a portion of their presents for the latter.

4th. To provide *active* and *zealous* missionaries for the Indians at the Bay of Quinté and Gwillimburg; and to send Wesleyan missionaries from England to counteract the antipathy to the established church, and other objectionable principles which the Methodist missionaries from the United States are supposed to instil into the minds of their Indian converts.

I have &c.

(signed)

JAMES KEMPT.

In the same year Bishop Stuart reported to the Governor of Canada as follows on the subject.

Quebec, 22d April, 1829.

The first step towards the improvement of the Indians is to settle them in villages; to make them stationary on the lands during part of the year, without which they cannot attend to agriculture, have any of the comforts or good habits of domestic life, or cultivate religion or education.

It will be most profitable in the first place to attend to the tribes who are in a measure settled, having villages where they reside the greater part of the year, and where the women and children remain all the year.

Some of the nations have funds of their own in the hands of Government, arising from the sale of lands. It would be very advantageous to themselves could they be induced to solicit the application of these funds to building houses in their villages, and a good school-house, which might serve as a place of worship till a church could be built. When they have not funds of their own, and in all cases probably these would be found deficient, it would be desirable that Government should assist them in accomplishing these objects. It would also be of great benefit to them that a blacksmith and carpenter should be stationed among them to aid in providing the necessary articles to carry on their agricultural pursuits; and as two persons ought to be accommodated with farms on the spot, their appointment would not occasion much expense. With a similar view, it would be advisable to furnish them to a certain extent with seeds and instruments of husbandry, to enable them to till and crop their land.

It would be expedient, at first at least, to allow the men to go on hunting excursions, and perhaps fishing parties, during part of the year; but it will be desirable to diminish the time of their absence from home, and to occupy them on their farms as much as possible.

In summing up this part of the subject, I have no hesitation in stating that the appointment of a religious instructor, a resident minister, amongst them, is a primary step towards the accomplishment of the great object of their civilization and improvement.

Attendance at school ought not to supersede the bringing up the children to agricultural labour as soon as they are old enough for it. School instruction ought in general (in a good measure at least) to precede that age, and when they are advanced to it, education and

labour might in some degree go on together. Here it is to be observed, that placing or boarding Indian children in the families of white people is very expensive, and cannot be extensively useful; neither need it be contemplated in the case of the Indians being formed into villages, and it will be recollected that this is represented as a first and indispensable step towards their civilization.

The schools at present established amongst the Indians in Upper Canada are, one in the Bay of Quinté supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; another on the Grand River was formerly supported by the same society, but this last school is superseded by those lately established by the New England Company of London. This company has recently turned its attention to the civilization of the Indians in Upper Canada. In 1827 they stationed a clergyman of the church of England, the Rev. R. Luggier, on the Grand River. They have expended considerable sums of money in instituting schools, putting the church in good condition, and in contributing to the erection of a parsonage, besides promising a further application of their funds in that quarter. They have supported a good school in the Bay of Quinté for several years, and they have two or three schools commenced in the vicinity of York; they are about to send a missionary to reside in that neighbourhood. Their schoolmasters teach the children in English, and it is certainly a preferable system, circumstanced as the Indians are in Canada, to that of instructing them in their own tongue.

The Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts have allowed a salary to a catechist, an Indian of very good character, in the Bay of Quinté, since the year 1810; they have also a catechist, an Indian, who is master of the Indian language, on the Grand River. Their missionaries, resident in the neighbourhood of these two settlements of Indians, have always been in the practice of visiting them and performing clerical duties among them. In 1826 the society established a minister among them on the Grand River, but in consequence of a feeble state of health which had been of some continuance, he has returned to England, and the society is now disposed to relinquish the field to the New England Company, and to apply their own resources elsewhere. Mr. Campbell, the society's missionary in the neighbourhood of the Mohawks in the Bay of Quinté, continues assiduous in his visits and attention to the religious wants of the Indians of that settlement.

The Methodist society support several schools among the Indians in Upper Canada, and their preachers minister to them in several parts of the country. They have been very successful in converting a great portion of the Mississagua tribe from heathen ignorance and immoral habits to christian faith and practice, and this improvement has been so great and rapid within these few years, that the hand of God seems to be visible in it, and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of their civilization. An extraordinary reformation and conversion to christianity has taken place in this tribe within a few years. It commenced on the river Credit, and has extended to various settlements of the nation to a considerable distance. A great proportion of the tribe have become sober and industrious in their habits, well clad as to their person, and religious in their life and conversation. The first and principal instruments in the reformation were two brothers of the name of Jones, who are of the religious denomination just mentioned; their father came from Wales, but their mother being a Mississagua Indian, they were well acquainted with the language of that nation; this circumstance accounts in a great degree for their personal influence with them, and for the success of the religious society to which they belong. Whoever were the instruments, the effect must be a source of satisfaction, and it is ardently to be hoped that their services and those of other societies will

speedily be blessed and useful to a very great extent. As I have not full or accurate information on the subject of their schools, missions, &c., I shall not venture on a particular detail of them. Neither is it in my power to give correct information with regard to the progress or proceedings of the Society for promoting Education and Industry in Canada, which was instituted in London in 1825, and of which there are some branches organized in these two provinces; but as yet, I may presume to say, their operations have not been very extensive or efficient, either among the Indians or the destitute settlers of these colonies.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel has within these few years enlarged its bounty to the Indians; but the demands on it now for new settlements of our own people are so much increased, that it is much to be desired that the society should be relieved from any additional charge on account of furthering the civilization of the Indian tribes. It is therefore gratifying to state that, as has been already intimated, the New England Company have lately come forward very handsomely in the promotion of the cause, that they evince every disposition to carry it on vigorously, and that their means for the purpose are large, and probably will be well applied.

Enclosure, No. 14.—Schools now in operation under the Superintendence of Conference Missionary Society.

	Scholars.	Teachers.
Grand River, Davisville -	10 -	S. Crawford.
Ditto, Salt Springs - -	25 -	H. Martyn.
River Credit - - -	28 -	J. Jones.
Ditto (Female School) -	23 -	Miss Sillick.
Grape Island - - -	35 -	{ Wm. Smith and Miss Yeomans.
Rice Lake - - -	42 -	H. Biggar.
Lake Simcoe Island -	25 -	Wm. Law.
Ditto, Holland Landing -	31 -	Miss Edmondson.
Muneeey Town - - -	12 -	J. Carey.
Malden, River Canard -	20 -	
Total -	251	Scholars.

It is of great importance that the disposition to settle, which now appears very generally to pervade the wandering Indian tribes, should not be allowed to subside, that every reasonable facility and encouragement should be afforded to induce them to do so, to render them independent of the bounty of the missionaries of the United States, and of the knavery of the traders with whom they are now compelled to deal, more especially when those desirable objects can be accomplished without any expense to the public; and as I am aware of no measure more eminently conducive to their attainment than that which Sir John Colborne recommends, I trust it will receive your early consideration and approval.

In 1830, Sir James Kempt again reported to Sir George Murray as follows.

Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, 20th May 1838.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, dated 25th January 1830, upon the settlement, education, and religious instruction of the Indians in this country, and I beg to observe, that by reference to my Letter, dated 16th May 1829, you will perceive that your suggestions for the attainment of those important ends have been generally anticipated.

In the hope of being favoured with an intimation of your sentiments upon the observations which that Letter contained, I have hitherto refrained from submitting, for your consideration, any further arrangements, for effecting the improvement of the Indians in Lower Canada, to which, as the Indian department in Upper Canada is now transferred to the direction of Major-General Sir John Colborne, the following propositions for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians, and for their gradual amalgamation with the other inhabitants of the country, are confined.

The first measure to be adopted in the prosecution of these objects is to apprise the different tribes, through the medium of their grand councils, of the conditions on which they may settle, and to ascertain, by those means, the number of Indians who may be disposed to do so.

Those conditions ought to be most distinctly and unreservedly explained to them, to prevent them from hereafter upbraiding the Government with any violation of faith.

It may also be advisable to intimate to them, that on the expiration of a limited period, the encouragement offered to Indian settlers will be withdrawn, and that as the forest no longer affords them the means of existence, self-preservation renders it incumbent upon them to settle, and to undertake the culture of the soil.

The tribes which inhabit Lower Canada are seven in number; namely, Hurons, Algonquins, Nipissingues, Amalacites, Iroquois, Abenauis, and wandering Mic Maes.

They are estimated at 3,437 souls, which, computing each family on an average to consist of five persons, gives a total of 687 families. Many of the Indians speak French; a considerable number also speak English, and it does not appear that they show any preference to the former when uninfluenced by their priests.

The rooted aversion entertained by the Indians to intermix with the white population, and with other Indian tribes, renders it necessary that they should be located in small bodies, comprising about 100 families of the same tribe, in the vicinity of other tribes and of white settlers. By these means they will have examples to guide them in their farming; their antipathy to associate with other people, it is hoped, will be gradually overcome; and the amalgamation with the mass of the population be most efficiently promoted.

With a view to lessen the expenses of opening communications with the Indian settlements, and of conveying to them the assistance which it may be necessary to afford, those settlements should be established as near to each other as circumstances may permit.

One hundred acres of land should be granted to each family; and though you may consider this a large portion to bestow upon such settlers, yet in this cold climate, where the winter prevails for six months in the year, where 50 acres, of lots of this description, are necessarily reserved for fuel, building, fencing, &c., 25 maintained in pasture, and the remaining 25 only allotted for general cultivation, the proportion suggested will be found by no means to exceed the wants of the Indian settler, and to afford the experiment a fair chance of success.

From the best information I have been enabled to procure, I am disposed to believe that the object of attaching the Indians to their farms, and of weaning them from their baneful habits of wandering idleness and dissipation, will be much more efficaciously obtained by locating them upon country lots, than by assembling them in villages.

The general terms upon which I propose that these lots should be granted, are,—

1. That they shall be, in the first instance, granted upon location tickets.
2. That on receiving these tickets, the settlers shall take the oath of allegiance.

3. That the terms upon which a final title to those lots shall be conferred, be distinctly expressed upon those tickets, namely, that two acres of land shall be cleared and cultivated within one year from the date of the ticket; that an additional quantity of three acres shall be, in like manner, cleared and cultivated at the end of the second year: and three more by the end of the third year, making in all eight acres.

4. That within eighteen months from the date of the ticket, a dwelling-house, of dimensions not less than 20 feet by 15, be erected upon the lot, and that on all those conditions being duly fulfilled, a grant in free and common socage shall be made of the lot.

5. That those lots shall be inalienable, without the consent of His Majesty's representative, and only bequeathable by will to the wife, children, or relations, of the grantee, in failure of which they shall revert to the Crown.

6. On infraction of any of these terms, the lots *ipso facto* to revert to the Crown.

The Indian chiefs are elective, and are occasionally degraded by the grand councils of their tribes, with which therefore they cannot be supposed to possess any *hereditary* influence.

I am nevertheless of opinion, that increasing the lots of the present chiefs to 150 or 200 acres each, will materially tend to ensure their co-operation in promoting the settlement of their tribes.

A lot of 300 acres should be granted or reserved for each priest, and 200 for each schoolmaster, from the rent of which their salaries may be in progress of time defrayed.

In those settlements the sale of all intoxicating liquors must be, as far as possible, most strictly prohibited.

The rations and agricultural aid with the Indian settlers will require are detailed in No. 2, page 98, but I imagine the expense of those rations may be occasionally reduced by the issue of fish, or other less expensive articles of food. Some expense will also be necessarily incurred on the original location of the Indians, in surveying their lands, forming roads, bridges, and schoolhouses, which may likewise for a time be used as churches, and also in affording such superintendence, religious instruction, and education, as may be found to exceed the means of the Indian department. A memorandum of the probable amount of those expenses, so far as it admits of calculation, is given in No. 3, page 99.

A person duly qualified should reside with the Indian settlers, to issue their rations, presents, and such seeds and implements of husbandry as may be given to them; he should if possible be conversant with their habits, possess their confidence, and be capable of instructing them in the rudiments of rural economy.

It would be also desirable that carpenters and blacksmiths should be induced to establish themselves in the Indian settlements, to make and repair their agricultural implements, to teach the Indians to construct their houses, &c., and to instruct a few young Indians in those trades; a portion of land might be granted to those carpenters and blacksmiths; but as their time should be for some years devoted to their business, they ought not to be permitted to undertake the culture of their lots, until their service as tradesmen can be dispensed with; and as the Indians will have no means of paying for their work for the first year, its expense will, I apprehend, during that period, devolve in a great measure upon the Crown.

The small portion of Indian lands now under cultivation by the different tribes are held in common, and the agricultural labours entirely devolve on the women and old men; their husbandry is of the rudest description, and the produce of the land very inconsiderable.

“The Indians are generally desirous of learning to read and write, but

from the inadequacy of the salary hitherto allowed to the schoolmasters of the department (£8 11s. 5d. sterling), no person competent to the duties of the situation have ever retained it for a sufficient length of time to be of material service in their education. I would therefore propose, that schoolmasters should be appointed in such proportion as may be found necessary, with £40 sterling each, equal to £46 3s. currency, per annum, and that small log houses should be erected for them in the vicinity of their schools.

“At those schools reading and writing in English, French, and arithmetic, should be taught, with such instructions in gardening and husbandry, &c. as the schoolmaster may be competent to afford.

“It will also be necessary to make some small provision for the purchase of books and stationery for the use of those schools; and I have no doubt that some of the societies for the diffusion of education amongst the poor, may be disposed to contribute towards those expenses. The school at Lorette is the only one now belonging to the Indian department in Lower Canada; the schoolmaster is an Indian of good character, but little calculated for his situation; it is irregularly attended by from 20 to 40 children, who are taught to read and write in English and French, but their progress is by no means satisfactory.

“The six Indian boys placed at school at Chateauquay, as reported by my letter of 15th December, 1829, are stated to be attentive and industrious. They are instructed in English, reading and writing, husbandry, and shoe-making; if the experiment of educating these boys should succeed, they will be particularly qualified to instruct their brethren; and I am induced to believe that the preparation on this system of a few Indians for the situation of schoolmasters, might be beneficially attempted on a somewhat more extended scale.

“Such are the principles upon which I propose that the settlement and instruction of the Indians of Lower Canada should be conducted. Their immediate consequence will doubtless be an increased expenditure to the probable amount intimated by No. 3. p. 99: but if the experiment succeed, which, from the best information I have been able to procure, may be reasonably expected, a considerable saving will continually accrue by the discontinuance of the expenses now incurred on account of the Indians, and the entire abolition of the Indian department.

“In support of these opinions, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that a small settlement of Indians, of the Amalacite tribes was formed as an experiment, by Lord Dalhousie, in 1827, upon the river Verte, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, 140 miles below Quebec; and although, from the difficulty of superintending the settlement, of supplying it with seed, and some other untoward circumstances, it has not advanced so rapidly as could be desired, it now consists of 30 families; they have cleared about 90 acres of land, erected seven or eight tolerable houses, and there is every reason to believe that, by continuing the small supplies of rations, seeds, and agricultural implements which they have hitherto received (No. 7. p. 102.) until 1832, those Indians may be considered independent of further assistance, and be safely committed to their own resources. It must be, however, remembered, that those Indians, when their settlement was originally undertaken, were reduced to the utmost indigence and distress; and they have been therefore settled with a degree of assistance which would be found altogether inadequate to induce the generality of the Indians of Lower Canada to follow their example. It is proper on the other hand, to mention, that a settlement of Indians, also formed by Lord Dalhousie's direction, near Picton, in *Nova Scotia*, under every possible advantage of soil, situation, and assistance, and superintended by an experienced and intelligent person, an enthusiast in the cause, but a

Protestant, totally failed, from the opposition of the *Roman Catholic priests*.

“An effort, however, to promote the dispositions amongst the Indians to assume the habits of civilization which is now said to prevail, is but an act of retributive justice; for we are surely bound to afford them every reasonable facility and assistance in obtaining the means of existence, which they are rapidly losing by our encroachment upon the lands from which they were formerly derived. “I have, &c.

“(signed) JAMES KEMPT.”

In 1830, also, Sir J. Colborne reported to the Secretary of State as follows:—

“With reference to your Despatch of the 15th of March last, and to your several communications on the subject of improving the condition of the North American Indians, I beg leave to state to you the measures that have been this year adopted to carry into effect the system recommended to be pursued, with a view of introducing amongst the Indians of Upper Canada, the industrious habits of civilized life. The three tribes residing on the shores of Lake Simcoe, and near the Matchadash, and the Potaganasees from Drummond Island, have been placed under the charge of a superintendent of the Indian department, and urged to clear a tract of land between the Lakes Huron and Simcoe.

“I have directed houses to be built for them on detached lots, and they are now clearing ground sufficient to establish farms at each station for their immediate support, from which they will be supplied while they are bringing into cultivation their individual lots marked out for their residence. Agricultural implements have been procured for them, experienced farmers have been engaged to instruct them, and school masters appointed to educate their children.

“I have taken steps also to establish a school at which a certain number of children from each tribe in Canada may receive an education that will qualify them in a few years to become teachers.

“The Western Indians, and those from the northern shore of Lake Huren, who repair annually to this quarter to receive their presents, will, I hope, be prevailed on to abandon, gradually, their present mode of life, and to follow the example of the Indians at these stations, when they see the advantages resulting from civilization.

“Similar measures are on trial at the Indian stations on the Thames and Lake St. Clair.

“Mr. Cameron, a native of Upper Canada, and half Indian, who is residing at La Cloche, reports favourably of the progress he is making as a missionary among the Chippawas.

“For the beneficial change which has been produced in the morals of the Indians of the Six Nations, and of several other tribes, we are indebted to the exertions of the New England Society, and to the Methodists. It is true that the Mohawks have been nominally under the guidance of the Established Church for many years, but from this connexion the Indians have derived no benefit. “I have, &c.

“(signed) J. COLBORNE.”

And in December of that year, Lord Goderich replied as follows:

“Downing Street, 27 December, 1830.

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 14th October last, detailing the measures which you have adopted for civilizing and improving the condition of the Indians in Upper Canada. I have in reply to convey to you my entire approbation of the arrangements which you have made for effecting this important object, by instructing them in the proper cultivation of the lands which you have

assigned to them, and in appointing schoolmasters to educate the Indian children."

In 1831, Sir John Colborne again wrote as follows :

"If the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada is enabled to proceed with measures which have been followed on the Thames, and on Lake Hurons and Simcoe, I have no doubt that the Indians residing in this province may be civilized, and become good agriculturists, and, whilst I am here, I shall be most happy to assist in promoting their welfare and in securing their attachment to the British Government.

In the same year 1831, Peter Jones was in England; and after showing to the Secretary of State, that the Indians of Upper Canada had of late much improved in civilization, he concluded in the following terms:—

"As our people are growing wiser, they are much pleased that our great father is taking a new way with us, and giving us useful things as presents, and that the firewaters is no more given us.

"I wish also to say something about our lands. My Indian brethren feel much in their hearts on this subject. We see that the country is getting full of the white people, and that the hunting will soon be destroyed. We wish our great father to save a sufficient quantity of land for ourselves and our children to live upon and cultivate. It is our desire that whatever lands may be marked out for us, to keep the right and title ourselves, and not be permitted to sell them, not to let any white man live on them unless he is recommended by our council, and gets a licence from our father the governor. But we wish to feel that we stand on our own lands that our fathers left us. I speak these words, because I have heard since I have been in this country, that the lands on which the Rice Lake Indians are settled, has been deeded to the New England Company to keep for them. I fear this will make them feel uneasy. I know that the Indians would feel better to keep their lands themselves, or that their great father should keep it for them, than to trust it with strangers that they know nothing about. Every man always feels best when he is in his own house and stands on his own ground."

To which Sir John Colborne replied as follows:—

The Indians will never find any difficulty in obtaining as much land as they can be induced to cultivate. Many of the tribes indeed are in possession of tracts of land too extensive for their present numbers. As certain families become civilized, and are able to manage their own property, lots might be secured to them by deeds.

The reformed system good, but defective. IX. *During several years considerable success attended these efforts to civilize the Indians; and, in addition to the zealous aid of the Bishop of Quebec, and of various missionaries, several Secretaries of State, and the Lords of the Treasury, expressly approved of what was doing.* It does not, we think, appear from any parliamentary documents or evidence, what led the Government to stop this satisfactory course of proceeding, which was fast producing a most remarkable change in the habits of the Indians. The plan in progress had some defects; to support these good effects our system of law as to the Indians required improvement. General Darling declared that under the old system which still prevailed, "an Indian could not defend himself" in a court of Justice; "nay, a whole tribe had not more power." (*House of Commons Papers, 1834, No. 617, p. 26.*)

But the steps that had been taken towards a total reform, were decided and effectual as far as they went.

X. A stop, however, was put to this satisfactory course; and the disastrous reaction is traceable apparently to the reformed system abandoned, and the removal-project begun. wretched plan of REMOVING the Indians from Canada, which Sir Francis Bond Head so much promoted.

Long and extensive experience has been had of removals of Indians by the influence of Government, and it is difficult to decide whether its impolicy be the more reprehensible, or its injustice the more to be reprobated.

The most important document we possess, in regard to their policy, is a Message of Sir F. B. Head to the Legislature of Upper Canada, dated the 29th of January, 1838; and containing his Despatches of the 20th of August, 1836, and others, respecting the new system substituted for that of Sir John Colborne and others, and Lord Glenelg's replies sanctioning the change.

The first despatch of Sir F. B. Head, opens with the following paragraph:—

“Your Lordship is aware that my predecessor, Sir John Colborne, with a view to civilize and christianize the Indians, who inhabit the country north of Lake Huron, made arrangements for erecting certain buildings on the great Manitoulin Island, and for delivering on this spot to the visiting Indians, their presents for the present year. The INSTRUCTIONS WHICH I RECEIVED FROM YOUR LORDSHIP TO DEFER OR COUNTERACT THESE ARRANGEMENTS, reached me too late to be acted upon; and on the 20th of November following, Sir Francis B. Head states that he had put a stop upon the arrangement of Sir John Colborne at the Manitoulin Island.

It does not appear on whose suggestions these instructions to stop this arrangement of Sir J. Colborne were issued. Sir Francis Head's account of his own proceedings we give in extracts from his despatches, with Lord Glenelg's replies.

Sir Francis Bond Head to Lord Glenelg..

Toronto, 20 August, 1836.

Although I did not approve of the responsibility as well as the expense of attracting, as had been proposed, the wild Indians north of Lake Huron to Manitoulin, yet it was evident to me that we should reap a very great benefit if we could persuade these Indians, who are now *impeding the progress of civilization* in Upper Canada, to resort to a place possessing the double advantage of being admirably adapted to them (inasmuch as it affords *fishing, hunting, bird shooting, and fruit*), and yet in no way adapted for the *white population*. Many Indians have long been in the habit of living in their canoes amongst these islands, and from them from every inquiry I could make, and from my own observation, I felt convinced that a vast benefit would be conferred both upon the Indians and the Province, by prevailing upon them to migrate to this place.

I accordingly explained my views in private interviews I had with the Chiefs, and I then appointed a grand council, on which they should all assemble and discuss the matter, and deliberately to declare their opinions. When the day arrived, I addressed them at some length, and explained to them, as clearly as I was able, their real interests, to which I found them very sensibly alive.

The Indians had previously assembled to deliberate on the subject, and had appointed one of their greatest orators to reply to me.

The individual selected was Sigonah (the Blackbird), celebrated amongst them for having, it is said, on many public occasions, spoken without once stopping from sunrise to sunset.

Nothing could be more satisfactory than the calm, deliberate manner in which the chief gave in the name of the Ottawa tribes, his entire approval of my projects; and as the Chippewas and Ottawas thus consented to give up twenty three thousand islands, and as the Saugins also consented to give up a million and a half acres adjoining the lands of the Canada Company, I thought it advisable that a short plain memorial should be drawn up, explanatory of the foregoing arrangements, to be signed by the Chiefs while in council, and witnessed by the Church of England, Catholic, and Methodist Clergymen who were present, as well as by several officers of his Majesty's Government.

I enclose to your Lordship a copy of this most important document, which with a wampum attached to it, was executed in duplicate, one copy remaining with me, the other being deposited with a Chief selected by the various tribes for that purpose.

The surrender of the Saugin Territory has long been a desideratum in the Province, and it is now especially important as it will appear to be the first fruits of the political tranquillity which has been attained.

I feel confident that the Indians when settled by us in the manner I have detailed, will be better off than they were—that the position they occupy can bona fide be fortified against the encroachments of the whites—while on the other hand, there can be no doubt, that the acquisition of their vast and fertile territory will be hailed with joy by the whole Province.

Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head.

Downing Street, 5 October, 1836.

I have received your despatch of the 20th August last, No. 70, reporting an expedition you had made in person to the shores of the Lake Huron, and the arrangements into which you had there entered with the various tribes of Indians. Assured of the vigilant humanity by which your conduct towards this helpless race of men, the survivors of the ancient possessors and lords of the country, could not but be directed, and conscious of the incomparable superiority of your means of forming a correct judgment how their welfare could be most effectually consulted. I have thought myself not only at liberty but obliged, in deference to your opinions, to recommend for his Majesty's sanction the arrangements and compacts into which you entered; and influenced by the same consideration, the King has been graciously pleased to approve them. His Majesty, however, directs me to commend these tribes in the strongest possible terms to your continued care, and to signify his express injunction that no measure shall be contemplated which may afford a reasonable prospect of rescuing this remnant of the aboriginal race from the calamitous fate which has so often befallen uncivilized man, where brought into immediate contact with the natives of Europe or their descendants. Whatever intelligence or suggestions it may be in your power to convey, respecting the condition of these people, and the prospect of their being reclaimed from the habits of savage life, and being enabled to share in the blessings of christian knowledge and social improvement, will at all times be received by his Majesty with the highest interest.

Sir Francis B. Head to Lord Glenelg.

20 November, 1836.

Whenever and wherever the two races come in contact, it is sure to prove fatal to the Red man. However bravely for a short time he may resist our bayonets and fire arms, sooner or later he is called upon

by death to submit to his decree. If we stretch forth the hand of friendship, the liquid fire it offers him to drink, proves still more destructive than our wrath; and lastly, if we attempt to christianize the Indians, and for that sacred object congregate them in villages of substantial log houses, lovely and beautiful as such a theory appears, it is an undeniable fact, to which unhesitatingly I add my humble testimony, that as soon as the hunting season commences, the men (from warm clothes and warm houses having lost their hardihood), perish or rather rot in numbers by consumption; whilst as regards their women, it is impossible for any accurate observer to refrain from remarking, that civilization, in spite of the pure, honest, and unremitting zeal of our missionaries, by some accursed process, has blanched their babies' faces, in short, our philanthropy, like our friendship, has failed in its professions. What is the reason of all this? Why the simple virtues of the Red Aborigines of America should under all circumstances fade before the vices and cruelty of the old world, is a problem which no one amongst us is competent to solve—the dispensation is as mysterious as its object is inscrutable. I have merely mentioned the facts, because I feel that before the subject of the Indians in Upper Canada can be fairly considered, it is necessary to refute the idea which so generally exists in England, about the success which has attended the christianizing and civilizing the Indians. Whereas I firmly believe every person of sound mind in this country who is disinterested in their conversion, and who is acquainted with the Indian character will agree,

1st. That the attempt to make farmers of the Red men has been, generally speaking, a *complete failure*.

2nd. That congregating them for the purpose of civilization, has implanted many more vices than it has eradicated; and consequently,

3rd. The greatest kindness we can perform towards this intelligent, simple-minded people, is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from any communication with the Whites.

* * * * *

I need hardly observe that I have thus obtained for her Majesty's Government from the Indians an immense portion of the most valuable land which will undoubtedly produce at no very remote period more than sufficient to defray the whole of the expenses of the Indians and the Indian department in this province.

On the other hand, as far as regards their interest my despatch No. 70, will explain the arguments I used in advising them to retire and fall back upon the Manitoulin and other Islands in Lake Huron, the locality being admirably adapted for supporting them but not for White men. Still it may appear that the arrangement was not advantageous to the Indians, because it was of such benefit to us; but it must always be kept in mind, that, however useful rich land may be to us, yet its only value to an Indian consists in the game it contains: he is in fact lord of the manor, but it is *against his nature to cultivate the soil*—he has neither right nor power to sell it. As soon therefore as his game is frightened away, or its influx or immigration cut off by the surrounding settlements of the Whites, his land, however rich it may be, becomes a "rudis indigestaque moles," of little value or importance, and in this state much of the Indian property in Upper Canada at present exists.

For instance, I found sixteen or eighteen Moravian Indians living on a vast tract of rich land, yet from absence of game, almost destitute of every thing, several of the men drunk, nearly all their children half castes, the high road through their territory almost impassable, the white population execrating their indolence, and entreating to be relieved from the stagnation of a block of rich land, which separated them from their markets as completely as if it had been a desert.

The above picture (which is a very common one), will, I think, sufficiently show that however desirous one may be to protect the Indians, and I hope no one feels more deeply for them than myself, yet practically speaking, the greatest kindness we can do them is, to induce them as I have done, to retreat before what they may justly term the accursed process of civilization ; for as I have stated, the instant they are surrounded by the white population, " the age of their chivalry has fled,"

The Lieutenant Governor of the Province may protect them from open violence, but neither he nor any other authority on earth can prevent the combination of petty vices which as I have already explained are as fatal in their operations as the bayonet itself.

It is impossible to teach the Indians to beware of the White man ; for it seems to be the instinct of his untutored nature to look upon him as his friend ; in short, his simplicity is his ruin ; and though he can entrap and conquer every wild beast in his forest, yet invariably he becomes the prey of his White brother.

For the foregoing reasons I am decidedly of opinion, that his Majesty's Government should continue to advise the few remaining Indians who are lingering in Upper Canada, to retire towards Manitoulin, and other islands in Lake Huron, *or elsewhere towards the north-west.*

* * * * *

It will be asked, in what way were these our promises made ;—it is difficult to reply to this question, as it involves the character of the Indian race.

An Indian's word, when it is formally pledged, is one of the strongest moral securities upon earth : like the rainbow, it beams unbroken, when all beneath is threatened with annihilation.

The most solemn form in which an Indian pledges his word is by the delivery of a wampum belt of shells and when the purport of this symbol is once declared, it is remembered and handed down from father to son with an accuracy and retention of memory which is quite extraordinary.

Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head.

20 January, 1837.

I have received and laid before the King your Despatch of the 20th of November last, No. 95, containing your report on the Indian tribes of Upper Canada, called for by my despatch of the 14th January, 1836.

His Majesty commands me to express his satisfaction at the interesting and perspicuous account you have furnished of the people. His Majesty regards, with peculiar approbation, the humane considerations for their national habits and feelings, which appear to have directed your negotiations with them ; and which has given birth to the suggestions offered by you regarding the measure to be pursued towards them in future.

I fear that it is impossible to question the accuracy of the view which you have taken of the consequences resulting to the Indians from intercourse with White men ; nor can it be disputed that we are bound by the strongest obligations, to adopt the most effectual means of repairing the wrongs which we have inflicted on them, and of promoting their future welfare. I should most reluctantly yield to the conviction that in the prosecution of this object we must abandon the hope of imparting to the Indians the blessings of christianity, on the ground that those blessings were necessarily more than counterbalanced by the evils with which they have hitherto been unhappily associated. I should rather be disposed to attribute those evils to the counteracting tendency which, under unfavourable circumstances, ordinary intercourse with white men has had on the instructions and example of christian teachers, than to any inherent inaptitude in the Indians for the reception of a religion in

itself peculiarly qualified to elevate the character and raise the standard of morality.

One great advantage which among others I would venture to anticipate from the adoption of your suggestions, of *interposing a considerable space between* the country occupied by white men and the Indian settlements, is the facility which such an arrangement might offer in the inculcation, by properly qualified teachers, of the doctrines and precepts of christianity, without interference with the ordinary habits of life hitherto pursued by the Indians, and apart from the deteriorating influence of a general intercourse with another race of men.

The effect of removal. XI. The dates of these despatches demand the grave attention of the Committee; the first being written in Canada, in August, 1836, and the last in Downing Street, in January, 1837; so rapidly was the important measure of removing the Indians settled. The effect on them is stated as follows, by an individual who had the best means of becoming acquainted with the truth:—
“ So dissatisfied were the Indians generally throughout Canada at Sir F. Head’s message and despatches with respect to them, that it was a matter of doubt for some short time whether they would turn out in defence of Government on the breaking out of the insurrection. But their loyalty to their Great White Father across the Salt Lake prevailed over their indignation.

Memorial to Lord Glenelg against the project of removal. XII. Against this policy a Memorial was addressed to Lord Glenelg, in February, 1837, by upwards of eighty Gentlemen in London, in behalf of the Saugeeng Indians in Upper Canada.

To the Right Hon. Lord GLENELG, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The attention of the undersigned memorialists has been arrested by a circumstance stated in the late address of the Governor of Upper Canada, Sir F. B. Head. They have learnt with regret from that address, as well as from other sources, that the territories of the Aboriginal possessors of the soil have been still further reduced by the concession which they have been persuaded to make of a very large and important tract of very valuable land. The tract of land so ceded is not solely inhabited by wandering and uncivilized Indians; but it comprehends within its limits a thriving and highly interesting Wesleyan Missionary Settlement, in which 200 Indians have embraced Christianity, and applied themselves with success to the arts of civilized life. Sixty of their children are receiving regular instruction in the Missionary school; and it is stated the effect of their example has been such as to induce many neighbouring Indians to join them. Your memorialists are far from wishing to impeach the character of Sir Francis Head, whose conduct on other occasions has evinced a desire to promote the welfare of his fellow creatures. They do not accuse him of adding to the British dominions by an act of violent spoliation of the kind by which many of our Colonies have been founded and extended; they are willing to admit that his object has been to benefit the poor Indians, by obtaining for them a tract of fertile land, to which they may be induced to emigrate with advantage. Much as your memorialists desire to see the Aborigines of North America advanced in civilization, and secured against the loss of their remaining territory, either by violence or persuasion, the object of this petition is, not that the treaty of Sir. F. B. Head should be annulled, but that the Secretary of the Colonial Department, who has already distinguished himself so much by the protection which he has afforded to the Aborigines of Southern Africa, will take the case of the Christian Indians in the

before mentioned settlement under his serious attention, and afford them his fatherly protection. It appears to your memorialists that those Indians who have cleared the land, ploughed and sowed fields, erected houses, homes, and places of worship upon it, have rendered themselves possessors of the soil by a stronger title than that by which their wandering brethren have held other portions of districts as common hunting grounds. And your memorialists implore that these Indians may not be considered as bound by the treaty, and compelled to remove, but that they may be allowed, and even encouraged to retain a portion of land adequate to the necessities of the settlement, with privileges and advantages equivalent to those enjoyed by pauper emigrants from this country, who have yet to make the land their own by labour bestowed upon it.

It is notorious that it has been extremely difficult to introduce civilization amongst the North American Indians. Again and again, after unwearied exertion has caused it to take root amongst them, it has been suppressed by removals, to make way for white settlers. Your memorialists are induced to hope that the measure which they implore, and which justice and humanity unequivocally demand, will not only rescue the settlement alluded to from the fate of its predecessors, and allow civilization to advance there, but that the protection shown to it will produce a salutary effect on other Indian tribes, by exhibiting to them the advantages of civilization, and by teaching them that it is the only effectual means by which they can secure the undisturbed possession of their soil.

Interview
with Lord
Glenelg.

XIII. Subsequently in 1837, the Society deputed two of its members to communicate with Lord Glenelg on the subject of the removal of the Indians. Though his lordship appeared to the deputation not fully informed of the facts of the case, yet he seemed to have had a general idea of the question. It appeared from this interview, that his Lordship's conclusions might be influenced unfavourably by three errors which the deputation endeavoured to confute. They were, 1. That the Indians removed voluntarily, and that therefore no injury was done them. 2. That the Manitoulin Islands are really *fit* for them, SUPPOSING THEM TO BECOME CIVILIZED CULTIVATORS OF THE GROUND. 3. That the Indians are so certainly contaminated by contact with the white people, that *nothing* but REMOVAL out of their reach can prevent it.

Aborigines
Committee.

XIV. The Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons was at this time sitting; but it is to be regretted that its report made in 1837 expressly referred the case of the Indians of Canada to the colonial office, where their hopes were so feeble, and their peril so great.

Memorial
to Lord
Durham.

XV. In the spring of 1838, when Lord Durham's mission was settled, this Society presented a memorial to his Lordship, in the following terms:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Durham, High Commissioner of Her Majesty's Provinces in North America.

The Humble Memorial of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, established in London, respectfully sets forth—

That in common with a large portion of their fellow subjects, the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society cherish a most lively interest in the objects proposed by your lordship's mission to the Canadas;

that they regard with unfeigned pleasure your lordship's appointment to that responsible office, and that they entertain a profound respect for that well merited reputation as the friend of freedom and of justice, which have procured for your lordship the confidence of her Majesty, and the hopes of the country.

While the Committee earnestly desire that your lordship's talents, energy, and wisdom, may be made the means under Divine providence, of healing the wounds inflicted by war and insurrection, of allaying irritation, remedying grievances, and preventing party strifes, they beg most respectfully to commend to your lordship's attention, the claims and sufferings of the Canadian Indians—a class of the population committed to your lordship's management, whose rights are the most ancient and sacred, and yet whose grievances are the most afflictive and unmerited. It is not a question of privilege and prerogative which forms the ground of expostulation, on behalf of the ill-fated Aborigines of our Canadian provinces. It is their very existence which is at stake. It is threatened annihilation rapidly advancing, and almost consummated, which has raised the voice of the Committee, imploring the interposition of the British government, whose faith has been repeatedly pledged to those sufferers, and who have not even a semblance of a complaint to urge against them.

The Committee beg to submit to your lordship's recollection that the whole of those vast tracts which now constitute our rich and valuable North American possessions, were once the undisputed property of free and independent tribes of Indians. A large portion of that territory has been absolutely taken from them, and the remainder has been acquired by purchase or concession, on terms of more than questionable character.

Many of the calamities of modern colonization have fallen heavily on the red tribes of North America. Resistance to unjust invasion provoked hostilities, and outrages created endless retaliations—the causes of those innumerable wars, perfidious alliances, and designing treaties, which have ultimately dispossessed the Aborigines of their territory. The once numerous and contented tribes of Indians, the rightful owners of the soil of Canada, are quickly disappearing by the sure progress of extermination.

Numerous artifices have been practised to debase the character of the Indian, as well as to alienate the lands, while little has been attempted to reclaim him from the life of the savage, to improve his condition, or educate his mind. Intestine feuds have been fomented, tribe arrayed against tribe, mutual animosities and jealousies engendered, and deadly weapons introduced to make destruction more speedy and sure.

The white man's intercourse has demoralized them, his traffic has defrauded them, his alliances have betrayed them, and his wars have destroyed them. They have thus lost the virtues of the savage without acquiring those of the Christian.

However upright may have been the intention of legislators, the fulfilment of their treaties has too often been left to the direction of men having a direct interest in violating or evading them. In every transaction, pacific or warlike, the poor Indian has ever been the sufferer and his remonstrance is as vain as his resistance is hopeless. The overwhelming tide of white intruders still rolls on. The heroic Indian falls before the pioneer of the wilderness, the avaricious speculator in land. In our commerce with the Indian, we settle the equivalent, and we gain the advantage while he has no redress for direct outrage or fraudulent dealing. His evidence is not received in our courts, and justice is thus denied for wrongs inflicted with impunity.

The Aborigines have diminished wherever they have come in contact with civilization. They have perished by the violence and injustice of men professing the name of Christianity, and not by a law of the human

race, as asserted by a false philosophy, which charges upon a bountiful Providence the consequences of the evil deeds of men. A very general prejudice has been acted upon, that the Aborigines are an inferior race of men, and scarcely entitled to the right of humanity. It has been convenient to contemplate civilization as impracticable, because it has seldom been properly undertaken. It is to the zeal and exertions of Christian missions alone, that a few Indians owe their preservation from the ruinous effects of vices, diseases, and consequent misery. It cannot be surprising that the efforts to convert them should have had such limited success, or that a strong aversion should be manifested by the Indians to the acceptance of a religion whose professors have invaded, plundered, and murdered them.

Although the Indians have been represented as remarkable for their cruelty and ferocity in war, many years have elapsed since they have offered any violence to British subjects. Although perfectly sensible of the fatal change in their affairs, occasioned by the encroachments of the whites, they have been exemplary for their unshaken fidelity to the British government.

Nor in urging their claims, can the Committee omit reference to that almost unanimous testimony in favour of their generous hospitality and unbounded confidence towards the European, borne by those who have had the opportunity of making personal observations on their dispositions and character.

The Committee cannot illustrate this more forcibly than by quoting the language of Sir Francis Head, in one of his despatches to Lord Glenelg: "The fate of the red inhabitants of America, the real proprietors of the soil, is without any exception the most sinful story recorded in the history of the human race, and when once reflected upon, the anguish they have suffered from our hand, and the cruelty and injustice they have endured, the mind accustomed to its own vices, is lost in utter astonishment at finding that in the red man's heart, there exists no sentiment of animosity against us—no feeling of revenge.—On the contrary, that our appearance at the humble portal of his wigwam is to this hour a subject of unusual joy. If the white man is lost in the forest, his cry of distress will call the most eager hunter from his game, and among the tribe there is not only pleasure but pride in contending with each other who shall be the first to render assistance and good." The Committee avail themselves with great satisfaction of this testimony of the late Governor of Upper Canada, because it furnishes one among the many cogent reasons that might be urged against that very policy which Sir Francis has laboured to advocate, and which it is a principal object of this memorial to oppose and counteract.

The Committee beg to assure your lordship of the cordial concurrence in the sentiments contained in many of the communications made from the Colonial Office to the Canadian Governors and others, charged with the administration of the Indian department, as well as with several of the despatches and documents which those officers have sent to the Colonial Office, which papers are printed among the evidence furnished to the select committee of the House of Commons, on the state of the Aborigines in our colonies. To save your lordship the trouble of reference, some extracts from them are given in the Appendix to this memorial.

The Committee are aware that the expenses of the Indian department have been considerable; the friends of humanity and of the country generally, may well inquire why greater results have not been obtained. A careful review of the items of expenditure, will show that a comparatively small portion of the amount has been applied in a manner calculated to promote civilization, and consequently to advance the real interests of the Indians; in fact, as stated in the evidence before referred to, the

ultimate object which has been aimed at in these grants, whether made a payment for land, or in consideration of service performed, has been to secure their allegiance, and to retain them under our control as a body of auxiliary troops. Our presents have therefore been such as would gratify their savage tastes or minister to their immediate wants, or enable them to pursue their original mode of life, as wandering hunters, without even the exercise of their own rude arts, by which their forefathers were supplied with articles of clothing, and the instruments of hunting and defence. With increasing difficulties they have become increasingly helpless and dependent.

However great might have been the injustice attending the process by which the territories of the Indians have been alienated from them where the formalities of treaty have been observed, the representatives of the original possessors no longer exist, and the lands have passed into the hands of those by whom they are now innocently, quietly, and profitably held. Restitution is out of the question, but honour, justice, and humanity, alike demand that every article in the treaties should be faithfully observed, by which any advantage has been promised to the Indian. That this has not been, is proved by official documents. Not only in successive treaties with our officers, has the greater part of their land been taken from them for inadequate considerations, but under the eyes of British authorities, as stated by General Darling, designing persons have inveigled the Indians into the alienation of considerable portions of their valuable reservations. Even where they have shown no inclination to surrender their lands, they have found their tenure difficult and uncertain, in consequence of the imperfect manner in which the terms of treaties, and the descriptions of territory, have been preserved on our part. The validity of the claims has been disputed, although their accuracy and fidelity in such matters are notorious and admirable.

Sir Francis Head says, "An Indian's word when it is formally pledged, is one of the strongest moral securities on earth. Like the rainbow it beams unbroken, when all beneath is threatened with annihilation. The most solemn form in which an Indian pledges his word, is by the delivery of a wampum belt of shells, and when the purport of this symbol is once declared, it is remembered and handed down to father and son, with an accuracy and retention of memory which is quite extraordinary.

Whenever this belt is produced, every minute circumstance which attended its delivery, seems instantly to be brought to life. It is not surprising then with this accurate knowledge of their reserved rights, they should be astonished to find that we are ignorant and hesitating respecting them, and delay the recognition of claims which we have no record to invalidate."

These evils have till lately presented themselves at different times amongst the Indians of various tribes. But in the policy of Sir Francis Head, we observe, notwithstanding the tone of benevolence which he assumes, the avowed intention forthwith to deprive them at one fell swoop, of all their remaining reservations, taking a million and a half of the richest land in all Canada from one tribe, six square miles of fertile land from another, a like quantity from a third, besides various other pastures. Nor is this land wholly neglected and unoccupied by the Indians, or such as they have held as hunting-grounds, but it includes so many infant settlements, in which, with much labour, and after repeated disappointments, the germs of Christianity and civilization have at length taken root with fair promise of fruitfulness. It includes cultivated lands appropriated by individuals, as well as houses, schools, and churches. At the very time at which the affairs of the Aborigines within the province seemed to have reached the point of their lowest decline, when the contraction of their borders and the extinction of their game

appear to have brought the absolute necessity of a new mode of subsistence, to second the gentle persuasions of the Missionaries, alluring them to the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life, they are called upon to abandon the advantages which they are just beginning to enjoy, and are to be banished to the 23,000 rocks of granite, dignified by the name of Manitoulin Islands. On these islands, from ancient motives of veneration, calculated to render permanent their native superstitions, but perfectly useless as Sir Francis admits, for every purpose of civilized life, the Indians flattered with the prospect of retaining their national character, and of finding the enjoyments which their forefathers possessed, when they had the range of the whole country, are doomed to live on berries yielded by the few shrubs which can take root between the crevices of the rocks, and on the fish which frequent the shallow waters.

It is obvious that they must invade the territories of other tribes, and engage in wars, serving the purpose of depopulating the country in readiness for the next advance of the whites.

The Indians have hitherto been in the actual receipt of clothing, arms, and agricultural implements, with other manufactured articles from the British government, but these have been gradually reduced for many years past.

From 1816 to 1829, the value of articles thus furnished, is stated to have been lowered from £117,000 per annum to £19,000 per annum. Sir Jas. Kempt; Sir John Colborne, and other excellent officers practically acquainted with Canadian affairs, strongly urge the injustice as well as the impolicy of withholding these payments to the Indians, which treaties and long-established custom have sanctioned. Lord Goderich, in a communication to Earl Dalhousie, dated July 14, 1827, describe the stores distributed, as either subsidies to the tribes being independent, or as rewards for past services, or as retaining fees in the nature of half-pay to those who have been employed in arms; or lastly in the payment of land ceded to his Majesty's government. And yet in the same despatch Lord Goderich suggests the ascertaining the amount of the stores distributed to the Indians with a view of ultimately withdrawing them. In conformity with this disposition to reduce, it appears that a tribe of Chippewa Indians located on the river Credit, having ceded in 1818 the greater part of their lands to the crown, were assured the annual payment of £522 10s, which having been correctly paid for two years, has since been uniformly reduced to £472 10s., making a total deduction of £850, independently of interest. It is understood that a similar reduction has been made in the case of all the other tribes. The Rev. Peter Jones, a Canadian, and connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society, is at present in this country, seeking redress in this matter, on behalf of the tribe of which he is a chief.

The mode in which the presents and annuities have been distributed, has also been such as to render them injurious rather than beneficial, although it may have been well suited to gratify the taste of the Indians. Every individual man, woman, and child, having any claim, however small to make, has been required to attend at the appointed place of distribution. Many families having had hundreds of miles to travel to reach this spot. No expedient could be more aptly devised to perpetuate the habits of unsettled life. As the wilds in which they are collected, do not afford subsistence for such a multitude, they feed on rations supplied by our government, and causing a useless expense to both us and them. The rum which forms a part of these rations, together with that furnished by traders, who attend on these occasions, gratifies and encourages the taste for intoxicating liquors, in which on such festive occasions, they are prone to indulge. No wonder that they plunge into the most profligate excesses, and are ready individually and collectively, to become the

easy dupes of the most disadvantageous proposals. No wonder that before they can return to their own homes, they are constrained by absolute want to part with the whole or greater part of that which they have received to procure food for the journey. Hence it is that no inconsiderable part of the articles which we distribute to the Indians, go to furnish the stores of the nearest American towns.

In conclusion the Committee would venture to suggest that the Indians having hitherto taken a part in military service disproportioned to their number, in the province; and the character of their mode of warfare being at once disgraceful to their allies, and irritating and horrible to their enemies, it would be alike expedient for us and for them, either greatly to limit or wholly to abolish their employment on military duty for the future.

Whatever fame may accrue to Lord Durham for extinguishing the prejudices of party, calming the turbulence of passion and softening the asperities of opposing factions at Canada, he will receive the rich reward of internal satisfaction no less solid and lasting from having rescued from annihilation protected and elevated the North American Aborigines and thereby set a new and noble example for the imitation of the civilized world.

On behalf of the Committee
 (Signed) J. J. FREEMAN. } Hon. Secs.
 J. H. TREDGOLD. }

London, 3 April, 1838.

SUGGESTIONS.

Your memorialists would not presume to dictate the precise mode in which the objects they have at heart may be attained; yet they would take the liberty of offering some suggestions with reference to them; sanctioned as they conceive by careful attention to the subject, and by past experience in cases somewhat similar as well as in the most successful attempts which have been made in favour of the Indians themselves.

1st. That all proceedings for the purpose of alienating from the Indians the whole or any part of their reservations, either by the British Government or by other parties with or without Government sanctions, should be absolutely put a stop to and that this measure should apply to all the cases of removal stipulated for in Sir Francis Head's treaties.

It is not intended that this principle should interfere with such arrangements as may be made by such just exchange of land within the province as may be found expedient to render the Indian reservations defined and conducive to their comfort and advancement in civilization, by affording the requisites of water and soil, and adequate facilities for access and egress for themselves and the articles which they either receive or dispose of.

The extent and limits of the Indian territory being fixed, the most secure and evident title ought, we believe, to be promptly given to them, and whilst they are put in the way of making proper appropriation amongst themselves, they should be tied up from otherwise alienating any portion either by lease or by sale.

The Indians' reserves thus defined and secured might, we submit, be recognized as distinct countries of townships, forming integral parts of the province in which they are situated. On such spots, the Indians might be perpetuated in Canada, as the Welsh have been in this country,

the Basques in Spain and France, the Fugitives from Epirus in Calabria, and Sicily and many other reduced and feeble portions of the human race in different situations.

2. To all the Indians residing within the boundaries of our provinces, the fullest and most complete participation in the rights of British subjects should be distinctly and unreservedly granted; and means should be taken to make them promptly aware of the fact as well as of the value of the boon and of the mode of taking advantage of it.

Their present ignorance in these respects, though an impediment to their at once deriving the full benefit, and a valid argument for their having the temporary assistance of well selected guardians, does not seem to present any reason for delaying the measure which it would be scarcely possible for them to abuse, but which would prove grateful to their feelings and a stimulus to their exertions.

3. The introduction of civilized habits and *bona fide* conversion to christianity having mutually promoted each other, and proved the best security against rapid diminution in numbers, and the baneful and demoralizing influence of profligate whites; it is obvious that these objects so often recommended in official documents both here and in the colonies, should be promoted by those means which have hitherto been the most successful. Every encouragement should therefore be given to existing missionary settlements, and the formation of new ones should be recommended and assisted.

4. All the payments due to the Indians whether for land, past services or for presents, which usage has sanctioned and taught them to expect as a right, should with their consent be so applied as respects the articles given, and the times and places of distribution, as may be most conducive to their real advantage and improvement.

5. The expences of the Indian department have been often noticed, past reductions may be followed up by farther diminution, and the grants themselves being in many instances limited to a specified term of years, it becomes a matter of first rate importance, that the payments whilst they are continued, should be administered with the most rigid economy.

It is a point of obvious importance, demonstrated by past experience, that the different religious bodies should be advised to avoid clashing in their operations. Though they may advantageously combine for the discussion and arrangement of measures, designed for the general benefit, they should in practice each be recommended to confine themselves to distinct fields for labour, upon which they may exhibit a generous emulation to excel in promoting the advancement of their pupils. By such a course, the Romish Priests who are generally represented as hostile to the introduction of education, might be stimulated to encourage efficient teachers of their own persuasion.

Of the Tribes of Indians situated on Territories regarded as British, but beyond the limits of our provinces, and not as yet settled or colonized.

These Indians with little, if any exception, are universally described as having rapidly and greatly diminished in numbers under the influence of intercourse with white men. They appear also to have been fearfully demoralized, to have been greatly dependent, and to be in some cases, reduced to the extremity of physical degradation.

These Indians may be divided into two classes, which however are not well defined since there are some tribes which unite both characters.

The first consists of those who live near our own frontiers, and also freely communicate with those of the United States. The allegiance of such Indians has been judged a matter of great importance to the Military Service of the Province whenever war has been in existence or its probability has been contemplated. The character of our intercourse with them, and the nature of the presents which they have received, have been

such as to blend the encouragement of their warlike character, with that of their attachment to us. They are exposed to similar influence from American agents, and they are a prey to the demoralizing practices of the border men and rival traders of both nations. In the state of peace which at present happily exists between Britain and America, it is the operation of these two last causes which is chiefly to be dreaded; yet as respects these Indians as the means of securing the permanence of our frontier it must be well worth the attention of the Government to convert them from a wandering, uncertain and dwindling people into one which is settled and fixed and progressively advancing in intelligence and power.

The reputation of a noble minded and magnanimous character, which some of these tribes seem still deservedly to retain, not only strengthens their claims but should encourage us to admit them.

The second class comprehends those Indians who are engaged in hunting for the benefit of the fur trade. Nearly all the Indians to the North and West are included in this class. Although many of the accessory evils to which they have been exposed, have, by the union of the two great trading companies, been abolished, there can be no doubt that the fur trade as it at present exists, is essentially a vast demoralizing and exterminating agent. From Labrador almost to California, and from Lake Huron to the Russian settlements in the North West, we are encouraging a system of human sacrifices at the accursed shrine of avarice.

The fur trade though exhibiting itself in a less conspicuous form, is the own Sister of the African Slave Trade. We do not doubt but many who are connected with the trade, may plead entire ignorance of their participation in such a system, and not a few may lay claim to those principles of benevolence and christianity, to which such a system is utterly repugnant; but a careful examination of the principles upon which the fur trade is conducted, must inevitably bring the impartial inquirer to the painful conclusion which we have advanced, and the few facts which are permitted to reach us from that remote and obscure region unequivocally attest the accuracy of the inference.

We would not willingly reduce or limit the gains, which consistently with justice and humanity, may be made by those who are engaged in any department of British commerce, and whilst we regard the correction of these abuses, as a legitimate exercise of the authority of Government, and on which the integrity of our national character demands, we firmly believe, that, not only the Indians but that the interest of the fur trade themselves would be greatly promoted by a complete reform in the system. It would surely be more profitable for us as a commercial nation, to supply the wants of a numerous and civilized people, than to furnish the few articles required by the habits of savage life to a thinly scattered, wasting and miserable population.

We would therefore recommend, not only that care should for the future be taken to exclude abandoned and profligate individuals from the service of the fur company, and that the introduction of pernicious articles should be prohibited, but that every possible encouragement should be given to the tribes of Indians in question to adopt the habits of settled and civilized life, with the necessary organization to give stability to an improved order of society. For the attainment of these objects we believe that a few well selected and able missionaries, aided by native teachers chosen from amongst the Indians within the provinces, and trained in the best situations of which advantage can be taken, would constitute the most economical as well as the most efficient agents. By inviting the native population, as soon as they can be thus reduced to organized departments, to participate the privilege of British Law, the integrity of our frontier, as well as their preservation and advancement, would be

effectually secured. The immediate and obvious change in the business of fur hunting, would be that instead of family migrations made and directed by the wanderings of the game, in which the old, the young and the infirm, finding it impossible to keep up with the active, are exposed to every species of fatigue, misery and privation, are frequently left to perish, hunting parties consisting of suitable and able persons only, would set out well equipped for the service, leaving their families in comfortable settlements to enjoy plenty in the absence and ready to welcome them with joy on their return.

XVI. The memorial was graciously acknowledged by Lord Durham. But there is reason to apprehend, that his stay in Canada was too brief to permit the case of the removal of the Indians, and a proper system for their future government, being then duly considered.

Report of
Mr. C. Buller. In a report, however, of Mr. C. Buller, Commissioner of Lands under Lord Durham, printed this Session by the House of Commons, it is declared that,

“In the return of granted lands accompanying this Report (No. 13,) are included appropriations made shortly after the termination of the American war, to Indians of the Six Nations, who had abandoned the old seats of their tribe to establish themselves in the Province under the protection of the English Crown, as well as some smaller blocks of land which were reserved for the Indians of other tribes out of the cessions made by them of the land which they had formerly occupied. The land appropriated for the use of the Six Nations’ Indians, consisted chiefly of 570,000 acres of fertile and advantageously selected land lying on each side of the Grand River, from its mouth to its source. At the present time, according to the statement of Mr. Jarvis, agent for the Indians, they do not possess, in round numbers, more than about 200,000 acres; I believe the precise amount is 187,000 acres. Of the manner in which the large portion they have alienated was acquired by the individuals into whose hands, as is stated by Mr. Radenhurst, it passed with the sanction of the Government of the colony, and nearly the whole of whom were connected with that Government, I could not obtain any testimony upon which I could feel myself justified in relying. It is, however, certain that the consideration paid for it was for the most part of merely temporary benefit to them. The Government, under whose guardianship the Indians were settled, and whose duty it should have been to provide efficient securities against any improvident grants, by which a provision, intended to be permanent, might be disposed of for inadequate or temporary returns, would seem, in these instances, to have neglected or violated its implied trust. To the extent of this alienation the objects of the original grant, so far as the advantage of the Indians was concerned, would appear to have been frustrated, by the same authority, and almost by the same individuals that made the grant. I have noticed this subject here for the purpose of showing that the Government of the colony was not more careful in its capacity of trustee of these lands, than it was in its general administration of the lands of the Province.”

The same report states, that very recently 3,000,000 of acres of fertile land have been got from the Indians by the Government.

It also shows that some Indian lands so obtained from them by the Government have been resold for a price which seems to have risen more than £3 per acre, from their Indian improvements.

Colonial ad-
vocates of the
Indians. XVII. The interests, however, of the Indians have not been deserted by their white friends in Upper Canada

at this crisis. Two witnesses have made written declarations in the public papers in their favour ; and we earnestly call the attention of the committee to the following extracts from both these appeals :

Extract of a Letter to Lord Glenelg, relative to Sir Francis Head's despatches on the affairs of the Indians.

I have recently read Sir F. Head's despatches to your Lordship on the affairs of the Indians. I claim, my Lord, to know something of the habits and character of the "red man" of this province, and the progress and effects of what Sir Francis sneeringly calls "Christianizing and civilizing process" among them. I was the first stationed missionary at the river Credit, and was permitted to be the first instrument of introducing Christianity among the Lake Simcoe tribes of Indians.— I have ate and slept in their wigwams ; I have toiled day after day, and month after month, in instructing them in religion, horticulture, agriculture, domestic economy, &c. ; have attentively and with anxious solicitude watched the progress of Christianity and civilization among them from the beginning. I believe I am individually as "*disinterested*" in their conversion as Sir Francis himself, I have had better opportunities of observation, though I cannot pretend to that acuteness which he arrogates to himself ; and I do most unequivocally assure your Lordship, that every one of his statements (in the sense which he evidently wishes them to be understood) is *incorrect*, except his description of the Munedoolin Islands in Lake Huron, and his admission of the nobleness of the Indian heart, and the injury he has sustained at the hands of the white man.

I here make the broad assertion. The subject will be fully investigated at the approaching annual meeting of our ministers, and the result will be transmitted to your Lordship. It is also probable, that petitions will be addressed to the House of Assembly at its next session, praying for a parliamentary investigation of the whole question. I humbly hope that your Lordship will therefore suspend your judgment upon these most extraordinary of all state documents, until the *truth*, and the *whole truth*, shall have been stated.

In the meantime, as specimens, to apprise your Lordship on one or two all-important points, I will just refer to Sir Francis' statement, *that the Indians readily consented to surrender the Saugeeng Territory, and to remove to the Munedoolin Islands.*

I can now state, upon the authority of the Rev. Mr. Stinson, (agent of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, and one of the Methodist missionaries to whom Sir Francis refers, as being present on the occasion,) that the facts of Sir Francis' negotiations with the Saugeeng Indians on those subjects, are substantially and in brief as follow. Sir Francis wished the Indians to surrender the whole of that territory to him ; they declined ; he endeavoured to persuade them, and even threatened them, by telling them that he could not keep the white people from taking possession of their land, that they (the Indians) had no right to it only as a hunting ground, &c. But the Indians were inflexible. They told him *they could not live on the Munedoolin Islands, that they would not go there*, that they wanted lands they could call their own, and live like the white people, and have their children taught to read. The council of the Saugeeng Islands separated. About an hour or two after, Sir Francis called them together again, renewed his proposals, persuasions, and threats. The Indians refused. Sir Francis *then* proposed, that if they would surrender to him the territory adjoining the Canada Company's Huron Tract, he would secure to them and their children the *territory north of Owen's Sound*, (which your Lordship will find mentioned in his agreement with them,) and build them houses on it from the

proceeds of the sales of the territory adjoining the Canda Company's land. (The territory north of Owen's Sound is from fifty to sixty miles in extent; contains much excellent land, and is skirted with good fisheries.) To this proposal, I am informed, the poor Indians did readily accede, with tears in their eyes: their hopes revived, and their countenances beamed with joy. This was what they wanted—land secured to them, from which they could not be removed, where they could have help to build houses and settle their families, and where they could at length rest their bones.

Such was the substance of what transpired between Sir F. Head and the Saugeeng Indians; from which your Lordship will perceive that they entirely refused to comply with Sir Francis' first proposal; that they never did, and do not now, intend to remove to the Mnedoolin Islands, any more than Sir Francis himself intends to remove there, and that they surrendered to him a part of their territory with a view of getting the other part secured to them, and assistance to settle on it. Such is the understanding, and intention, and expectation of the Saugeeng Indians to this day.

I will notice but one other point in Sir F.'s statements. He represents to your Lordship that great mortality attends the civilization of the Indians. It is admitted, that Christianity does not impart to the Indian a *new body*, although it implants within him a *new heart*; and therefore constitutions impaired by intemperance, vice, and exposure, may become a prey to consumption and other diseases, after the Christian conversion and reformation of the Indians, as well as before. But is this mortality *increased or lessened* by the "Christianizing and civilizing process?" I will take the oldest Indian mission we have as an example, and the one the most unfavourably situated, according to Sir Francis' theory,—the river Credit mission, a mission within sixteen miles of Toronto, surrounded by a white population, embracing a tract of only 3000 acres of land, the Indian owners of which were drunkards to a man, woman, and child, with one, and only one, (female) exception. When I entered upon this mission, in 1827, there were 210 souls in the tribe, most of whom had been converted some months before, at the Grand River; now there are 245. Some have removed to the village from other places, others have removed to other places from this mission I am unable to say which class of removals are the most numerous. The council of the tribe was called a few days since, in order to ascertain the comparative number of deaths during the last ten years, and during the ten years previous to their conversion. The deaths in every family during these two periods were ascertained as accurately as the memories of the older branches of each family would permit. The old chief stated the result as nearly as they could learn, that during the ten years immediately preceding their conversion, there were 300 deaths in his tribe; during the last ten years there had been from 50 to 60. This difference in the number of deaths during each of these two periods, the old chief feelingly ascribed to their becoming Christians. He said the Indians used to get drunk, some of them would fall into the fire and get burnt to death, some would freeze to death, some would starve to death, some would get killed in fighting with each other, some would die of consumption, from exposure to the hot and cold, many of the children would die of neglect, for want of food, and from the cold. Previous to the conversion of this tribe, they did not cultivate an acre of land; since their conversion, they have cleared from the forest, brought under cultivation and enclosed 820 acres of land; have grown the last year nearly 900 bushels of wheat and corn, nearly 1100 bushels of potatoes, 84 tons of hay, besides garden vegetables of various descriptions. They have 63 head of horn cattle, 110 pigs, 10 horses, 2 saw-mills, 200 shares in the Credit Harbour Company, have built several barns, and 20 houses, since the building of the first twenty houses for them by Sir

John Colborne, and more acres of land are sown for the next season than they have ever had before.

Remarks on the late surrender of the Saugeeng Territory, and the general treatment of the Christian Indians, under the administration of Sir F. B. Head, Bart., K.C.H., &c. &c. &c., Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada.

No. IV.

My three preceding numbers were principally confined to the circumstances connected with the surrender of the Saugeeng Territory; this will be more general in its character, and present facts which, however widely they may be at variance with the officially communicated opinions of Sir F. B. Head, are strictly true,—not being founded on mere supposition, hasty observation, or doubtful authority.

It is due, however, to Sir F. B. Head to state, that the "Indian settlement" from which I write, is *one* of those "one or two trifling exceptions" which escaped the observation of his Excellency, when on his "inspectorial tour of the province." It is therefore to be regretted, that he had not availed himself of an opportunity to give us a call before he made up so hasty, and as I submit, so incorrect a judgment. The facts here made public may tend to disabuse the public mind and that of Lord Glenelg on the statements of Sir Francis, about the success which has attended the Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. They will show that one "Indian settlement," at least, does not present those fruits of the "accursed process of civilization" which his Excellency elsewhere beheld with his "own eyes;" and I am confident that the most respectable testimony will be furnished from other settlements in due time: proving, beyond doubt, that the character of the Indians has been slandered, the success of missions misrepresented, the extent of civilization and improvement underrated, and a deadly stab aimed at those thrice-holy and exalting principles to the introduction of which we owe all our refinement and our superiority over our savage neighbours, and which are "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

The attempt to make farmers of the red men has not, as it respects this settlement, been a "complete failure;" as the following facts may testify.

Not quite four years have elapsed since the first in this tribe renounced "the errors of a pagan's creed." Little had been accomplished previous to this, either by our "friendship" or our "philanthropy." The "simple virtues" of the red men shone forth in all their native lustre; and while drunkenness, and murder, and adultery, and every evil work abounded, one, who could with stoical vanity have declared himself "disinterested in their conversion," might have exclaimed with F. B. Head, "We have only to bear patiently with them for a short time, and with a few exceptions, principally half castes, their unhappy race, beyond the power of redemption, will be extinct." Since that period, two hundred and fifty have been admitted by baptism into the Christian church. Of these one hundred and seventy-seven were adults. After deducting deaths, removals, &c., we have at present one hundred and sixty-one members of society. It may here be remarked, that many who have in this frontier station embraced the Christian faith are those who, although during the last war they bore arms under the British flag, have since that period generally remained in the State of Michigan, so that the houses which were erected under the direction of Sir John Colborne, the Indians' friend, (whose administration will be long remembered by the red man, but with very different feelings from those with which they contemplate that of Sir Francis,) were only sixteen in number; and when the number of families is compared with the improve-

ment made, the public will be able to determine whether we ought to give up in despair our efforts to make the aborigines an agricultural people.

There have been cleared, and were under fence last season, not less than one hundred and forty acres of land which was heavily wooded. The rails were split, drawn, and laid up into fence by the Indians, with very little, if any, assistance or instruction from white men. And although the season was unfavourable to their corn and potatoe crops, and the late disturbances prevented them from providing as they otherwise might have done, yet there are some who have Indian corn and potatoes on hand to supply their families; and they consequently consider themselves better off than they would have been in their former "simple-minded" state, when living on the "berries on which those Indians feed," who "have been in the habit of living in their canoes" among the "granite islands" of Lake Huron, or "further to the North and West." They are fully persuaded that their present location is preferable, inasmuch as it affords fishing, hunting, bird-shooting, and fruit, and also excellent corn, potatoes, oats, and vegetables in abundance. The Indians own several black cattle and twelve horses. One of them killed five good hogs last autumn, and some others one or more each. Several barrels of fish, which were packed last autumn, have been sold to the merchants and others during the winter. Some who, when they became Christians were from one to two hundred dollars in debt, now "owe no man any thing;" while their clean and decent appearance, and their sober conduct, declare most emphatically that our friendship and philanthropy have not altogether failed.

Whether "congregating the Indians in villages of substantial log-houses" may be considered a "lovely or beautiful theory," or whether what Sir F. B. Head declares to be an "undeniable fact," to which he so "unhesitatingly" adds his "humble testimony, that as soon as the hunting season commences the men perish, or rather rot in numbers by consumption," and that Christianity "has more than decimated its followers!" may be determined by a perusal of the following statement of the number of deaths which took place respectively during the four years preceding, and about the same period since, the introduction of Christianity among this tribe.

Number of Deaths during four years previous to embracing Christianity.

Natural deaths, hastened in most cases by drunkenness and other vices . . .	12
Died drunk	9
Killed by being stabbed; bruised, or otherwise injured by their associates, and in several instances by their own relations, in drunken quarrels . . .	14
Burned to death by falling in the fire when drunk	2
Drowned when drunk	2
Poisoned by the Conjurors or Meedai, (persons frequently employed by the Pagans to avenge real or supposed injuries)	4
Insane through continued drunkenness, and eaten by wolves	1
Killed by accident when drunk	1
Killed by accident when sober	1
Died in childhood	1
Total	47

Number of Deaths since embracing Christianity.

Natural deaths	3
Total	3

In preparing this statement, I have been careful to obtain the name of every individual; and should the almost incredible contrast lead any one

to question its correctness, I can furnish a list with the names of the persons, and the places where the deaths occurred. With this statement before him, no person would doubt the truth of Sir F. B. Head's assertion, had it been applied to the *pagan* Indians, that they "wither, droop, and vanish before us, like the grass of the forest in flames." But who can for one moment acquiesce in the opinion of the same personage, when he publishes in the ear of the noble Secretary of State for the Colonies, that "*civilization*, producing deaths by consumption, has more than decimated its followers."

The very extraordinary sentence in Sir F. B. Head's "Memorandum," in which he so ingenuously connects the missionaries and the women, I cannot allow to pass without a few remarks. He says, "while as regards the *women*, it is impossible for any accurate observer to refrain from remarking, that civilization, in spite of the pure, honest, and unremitting zeal of our missionaries, by some accursed process, has blanched their babies' faces."

The most obtuse intellect will perceive the tendency of this sentence to induce a certain class of impure minded enemies of religion to chuckle over this *double entendre*. In the most favourable light in which it can be viewed, it exposes its author to the charge of either irony or sarcasm, or both, in praising those women he intended to condemn, who, "under the pretence of eradicating from the *female heart* the errors of a *pagan's* creed," have "implanted in their stead the germs of Christian guilt;" or otherwise, to a highly censurable want of circumspection, in touching on a subject so delicate in its nature, in a manner painfully indicative of a vitiated taste.

Were the character of the Christian Indian females assailed from some other quarters, I should not deem it necessary to offer one defensive remark; but when it has been attacked by the representative of the crown in this province, the case assumes a serious aspect, and demands a serious examination.

The chastity and reserved deportment, even of those converted females whose former habits were loose and dissolute, are so striking, that the fact is not only the subject of gratifying remarks among those who acknowledge themselves "interested in their conversion," but as one of the Indians once observed, "the wicked men swear at the missionaries because our women refuse to run wild like the deer in the forest." Why did not Sir F. B. Head inform Lord Glenelg, in order to "the subject of the Indians in Upper Canada" being "fairly considered," that many of the *adults* are of mixed blood, and that consequently, "in spite of the pure, honest, and unremitting zeal of our missionaries," *this circumstance*, without any "accursed process, has blanched their babies' faces." Had he really made himself "acquainted with the Indian character," he would know too that "babies' faces" being "blanched" is no just criterion on which to ground the serious charge of adultery as a characteristic of the effects of civilization. An intimation, at least, might have been given that all are not implicated in this crime; but the unlimited phrase, "*while as regards their women*," leads to the conclusion that adultery is the universal mark of degradation which accompanies the "accursed process of civilization." "It is impossible for any *accurate observer* to refrain from remarking" that "babies' faces" are in *all cases*, even where the character is above suspicion and the blood pure, many shades lighter than their parents; and that several months expire, unless they are much exposed by travelling, before they assume the distinctive hue of their race. This is known to all who are conversant with the Indians; and could Sir F. B. Head, or any other such "accurate observer," meet those "blanched babies" in a year or two hence, the ruddy countenance, the lank black hair, the high cheek-bone, and the dark piercing

eye, would either compel him to retract his opinion, or to give practical proof of the truth of the couplet—

“Slander lives upon succession;
For ever housed when it *once* gets possession.”

To these statements we desire only to add our belief that both of these writers deserve implicit confidence; but that without strenuous support from England they will fail.

The Dela- XVIII. We proceed to two other cases. The case of the
wares' case. Delawares and other tribes, with whom the Moravian mis-
sionaries have laboured for nearly a century in the old colonies, and
since 1783 in Upper Canada, is most remarkable on this head.
Their station is at Fairfield, on the river Thames.

At the end of 1836 the congregation of converted Indians was 282 in number; and it was increasing;* but of these, many began to think of emigration to the *United States*,† under which are mysterious.‡ In June 1838, about 200 of these people actually emigrated beyond the Missouri.

The considerable progress of many Indians in civilization, under the care of the Moravians, is unquestionable. An author of credit on the history of Canada, Bouchette, (vol. i., p. 94, 1831,) said of these in particular, that the “peaceable conduct and general demeanour of the Indian converts showed some of the benefits derived from civilization. Their village was surrounded by thriving corn-fields, and tillage had made considerable progress in its neighbourhood.” The adherence of this particular body to the British government in 1783, after having persevered from a much earlier period, in the old colonies, in a course of religious instruction and gradual improvement, against the most frightful obstacles of every kind, is matter of history. The extensive breaking up of this mission, in its place of refuge in Canada, is, we think, mainly attributable to what the directors of the United Brethren most correctly call “the *precarious* position in which the Indian tribes have been placed.”§

The last act of the governor of Upper Canada is a strong illustration of the system which has been pursued by our authorities against the interests of Indians who left the United States in 1783, to come to a British colony, and who have been at length driven, in 1838, to emigrate again from that colony to the United States.

The act alluded to is a bargain made in 1836 by Sir F. B. Head with a small majority of these Indians, against the will of a large minority, and without having their old protectors, the Moravian missionaries, present at the contract. We believe the price given for this land, viz., an annuity of £150 per six miles square of “rich black” soil was much below its value, and that the whole transaction was an abuse of the influence of the governor, and ought to be reviewed.

* Periodical Accounts, vol. xiv. p. 151, 289. † Ib. p. 200, 352, 513, 518.

‡ House of Commons Papers, 1834, No. 617, and Periodical Accounts, vol. xiv.

§ Periodical Accounts, vol. xiv., p. 513. March, 1839.

We have reason to believe that memorials in the colonial office will verify this statement.

The River Credit case. XIX. The case of the Indians on the river Credit is another that deserves a more minute investigation than we have means of giving. Such has been their disquiet respecting their lands, that they have more than once sent an express messenger to London for security.

The progress of these Indians has been set forth in the documents already cited. His misrepresentation of the state of the Indians of Upper Canada has been illustrated in the foregoing account of the river Credit people, taken from the parliamentary papers.

In 1837 they sent a special messenger, P. Jones, to England, to appeal on this and other subjects. This appeal produced the following despatch :

Lord Glenelg to Sir George Arthur, Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, &c. &c.

Downing Street, 27th March, 1838.

SIR,—The Indian Missionary, Mr. Peter Jones, and the Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Mr. Alder, have lately been in communication with me, relative to the application preferred by the former on behalf of certain of the Indian tribes in Upper Canada, for title-deeds of the lands which they now hold under the crown. I enclose herewith, for your information, copies of the *letters which they have addressed to me*.

I need scarcely state that, in considering these letters, I have not failed to advert to the opinions expressed in Sir Francis Head's despatches of the 18th October and 8th November last. I am of course sensible how much weight *is due to Sir F. Head's opinion on such a subject*; and with my present information, I should *much doubt* the expediency of adopting to the letter the propositions contained in the accompanying letter. Yet I must think that some measure may be taken for removing the uneasiness which is said to exist among the Indians in regard to their land. With this view I should propose that, at the first general meeting of the Indians, an assurance should be conveyed to them, in the most formal and solemn manner, that her Majesty's government will protect their interests, and respect their rights, in regard to the land on which they are settled.

It might be explained to them, that for the sake of themselves and their posterity, it would not be advisable to deliver into their hands the title-deeds of their property; but that those title-deeds should be drawn up in writing, and recorded in the office of the commissioner of crown lands, of the fact of which record any person or persons deputed on their behalf may convince themselves by inspection; that these title-deeds, so recorded, should be considered by the government as equally binding with any other similar documents; and that if the Indians, or any other individual among them, should at any time desire to sell or exchange their land, the government would be ready to listen to their applications, and to take such measures as should be most consistent with their welfare and feelings.

It appears to me that if a measure of this nature were adopted, any reasonable apprehension in the minds of the Indians would be allayed, while the danger of their becoming the victims of deception would be avoided. It would also tend to draw closer the connexion which unites

them with the executive government, and to cherish those feelings of affection with which they regard the sovereign of the British dominions.

I am aware, however, that there may be impediments to such a course which have not occurred to me; and I do not therefore desire you to consider the foregoing instructions as imperative. But I should be anxious that, if not the precise measure which I have suggested, some other of a similar description should be forthwith adopted.

In furnishing me with a report of the steps which you may take in this matter, I request that you will advert to the statement in Mr. Jones's letter, respecting the annuity granted to the river Credit Indians in return for their lands; and that you will supply me with an explanation of the alleged reduction of the sum which had been agreed on as a permanent payment. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GLENELG.

The confidence of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the efficacy of this despatch was strong, and announced in the Watchman newspaper of the 27th of June, 1838, in the following terms:

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Augustus d'Este, and the Rev. Robert Alder, had an interview with Lord Glenelg at the colonial office on Saturday last, for the purpose, as we understand, of communicating with his lordship on the subject of the Indian reserves in the province of Upper Canada. The treaty which was entered into by Sir F. B. Head with a portion of the Saugceng Indians, for the relinquishment, on their part, to the crown, of their territory in the Huron tract, comprising a million and a half of acres of the finest land in the province, in connexion with other measures adopted by the executive towards that deeply injured race, produced a degree of distrust and apprehension in the minds of the Christian Indians at the different mission stations in Upper Canada, under the care of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, which greatly interrupted their progress in the path of improvement, and have been the means of breaking up one or two of those settlements. Under these circumstances, the committee of that society have on various occasions brought this very important affair under the consideration of her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the colonies, and it is due to the noble lord who fills that high station, to add that we have been informed that he has manifested the utmost willingness to listen to their representation, and to redress the wrongs of the poor Indian.

It will afford great satisfaction to the friends of missions, and especially to those who take a deep interest in the progress of scriptural Christianity amongst the red men of the west, to learn that a despatch has been addressed by Lord Glenelg to the present excellent Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on the subject of Indian title-deeds, which will secure to the evangelized Indians and their posterity the possession in perpetuity of the lands on which they are located, and which they have to some extent improved and cultivated. The settlement of this question is of incalculable advantage to the Indians, and the announcement of it to them will contribute to bind them still more closely to the mother country, an object of great national importance in the present critical state of the Canadas.

Soon afterward further efforts were thought needful to secure the land; and in September, 1838, Peter Jones, the envoy of the Indians of the river Credit, presented a petition from them to the queen in person, praying that the land on which they are settled, and which they have to a considerable extent cultivated and improved, might be secured to them and to their posterity.

To this petition were attached several strings of white wampum, and a few of black; the white to signify peace and good-will, the black expressive of sorrow, and trouble, and war. By sending both the petitioners intended to inform the queen that, while they love her as their head, and rejoice in their connexion with the English nation, they nevertheless have cause of sorrow in the insecure manner in which they hold their small reserves of land, which land they fear will in some future period be taken from them."

The petition was graciously received by her Majesty, and *re-instructions* were sent out by Lord Glenelg respecting the Indian rights. Since which incident unsatisfactory intelligence has arrived from Canada; and we conclude generally that better guarantees than any now existing are indispensable, in regard to lands improved by Indians, and also to secure the due disposal of the price given them for the tracts which they have alienated.

Want of funds. XX. In a subsequent part of this report it will be shown, that the *expense* of various establishments essential to the improvement of the Indian, it is a great obstacle to their progress. But it appears probable that, if their land and its proceeds be duly administered, all difficulty on this head may be removed; and the report of Mr. Charles Buller to the Earl of Durham upon land, already quoted, has opened the way to a sufficient augmentation of those proceeds.

Petition recommen- ded. The sub-committee therefore repeat the recommendation that the committee will procure numerous signatures to petitions to the Queen and to Parliament, to stay the removal project, and to improve the systems at present existing for protecting and instructing the Indians.

For the present, it seems sufficient to justify such recommendation upon the recent experience of Sir John Colborne and others, in favour of the good effect of certain efforts to settle and civilize the Indians.

Civil rights. XXI. Our second point concerns the neglect of means of securing justice to Indians in courts of law, in their participation of civil rights, and in just regulations of trade with them.

The government has neglected the obvious means of securing justice to Indians in courts of law. The report, already quoted, of the Commissioners of Inquiry upon the Indians of the Canadas, declares, that they are disabled by the colonial laws to appear in courts of justice either singly or as tribes, which alone would go far to prevent an uncivilized people in contact with us, ever becoming civilized.

It is not easy to conceive how a barbarous people can accommodate themselves to the usages of a civilized community, when they are studiously excluded from sharing in its laws. The Indians of Canada cannot be witnesses, if they happen not to be Christians. They have no vote; and extraordinary obstacles have been thrown in the way of their holding land in severalty. On these, and the like disabilities, they ought to be forthwith relieved.

It is a remarkable fact, and one that redounds little to our cre-

dit, that in a declaration of independence, signed Robert Nelson, which was promulgated in Canada last year, the 3rd article was to the effect, that Indians should no longer be under any civil disqualifications, but shall enjoy the same right as all other citizens. It has even been asserted in print in Upper Canada, that pending the late proceedings as to their removal, bodies of the Indians were prohibited coming to the seat of government, to lay their remonstrances before the Lieut.-Governor, Sir F. B. Head.

By imparting civil and political rights to the Indians, we shall give them a lasting hold upon civilized life, as by now doing them a signal act of justice in regard to their lands, we shall give civilized society a strong hold upon their confidence and affections; whilst by furnishing them through various institutions with the means of improvement, we shall rapidly qualify them for every station.

The Indian trade. XXII. In regard to the Indian trade, we propose to confine ourselves, in this report, to a few general remarks. The case of the Hudson's Bay Company is the most important on this branch of the subject; and we reserve it for future consideration. There is, however, a considerable trade carrying on with the Aborigines within the limits of Canada, and in the British North American possessions.

Almost the earliest communications of Europeans with the Indians were commercial; and it was soon seen that their ignorance exposed them to fraud and oppression on the part of traders. Various devices have been resorted to in order to check fraud and improve such dealing, and although no sufficiently good method of reforming past errors on this head has been suggested; various expedients have been attended with a certain degree of success; and it seems probable that with due care the Indian trade might be put on a satisfactory footing.

Old evils are, 1st, the supply of spirituous liquors as barter to the Indians.

2ndly. The low price given them for their goods.

3rdly. Direct frauds, by which in particular cases, Indians are oppressed.

Whatever may be done by positive laws to prevent the first of these evils, the other two will give way, it is feared, only to advancement in civilization.

It has been attempted in various ways to protect the Indians from direct oppression. The proclamation of 1763, above quoted, directs a licence system for that purpose.

In Nova Scotia the government once established a system of barter at houses and with goods of its own, for the same purpose; and prohibited private trade, even with licences.

Both courses have failed.

Monopolies of trade in any form seem to be in all respects injurious to the Aborigines; and they have proved especially injurious in the colder countries, where freedom alone, commercial as well

as civil and political, is indispensable to that degree of prosperity of all classes which is calculated to afford the best foundation for the improvement of the more ignorant. It is certain, that the Laplanders, whose condition much resembles that of the Indians and Esquimauxs, were deeply injured by the monopoly granted in Norway. It is equally certain, that the remarkable old colonies in Greenland were ruined in consequence of a similar system, and it is probable that a free trade in all the countries of the Indians will be the most beneficial to them, provided a good police at distant posts be established against particular wrongs, and the conduct of wrong doers be properly inquired into and punished on their return from distant expeditions.

Violent acts of some ex-plorers. XXIII. The same police and justice should be applied to the violent acts sometimes done by travellers and explorers.

There are two classes of travellers in new countries; namely, those who consider that the discovery of a river, or other interesting object, may justly be promoted at any sacrifice not only of their own lives, but also of those of the people they visit; and those who hold the duties of humanity to be superior to the enlargement of the domains of science. We recommend strongly that a stop be put peremptorily to the career of the former class. Precautions in having competent interpreters; in a proper liberality as to presents, and in approaching new tribes with some intermediary in all possible cases, will probably prevent the killing of the natives and the blood, which rashness and illiberality of explorers now too often cause. The following narrative, *by an Indian* traveller, will illustrate our meaning on the two important points, as to the knowledge of the language, and as to introductions.

"A civilized Indian of Canada, named Moncarhtape, travelled to Bhering's Straits, *in order to gratify his curiosity, and get information of the country whence the North American nations came.* His narrative was obtained from his own mouth by M. Le Page du Praty; and it is inserted in the Modern Universal History. (Vol. xxxix. p. 397.) He was eight years on the journey, halting where necessary *to learn* the language understood by the tribes he had to pass. I came one day, says he, to a nation whose chief bluntly demanded, who art thou? what business hast thou here with thy short hairs? I told him my name, that I came from the nation of Loutses, that though my hair was short my heart was good, and then hinted the design of my journey. He replied, I was not one of that nation, and wondered at my speaking the language. I told him that I had learned it of an old man, whose name was Salt-tear. He no sooner heard the name, which was that of one of his friends, than he invited me to stay in his village as long as I would. Upon this I landed from my canoe, and told him, that Salt-tear had directed me to an old man named the Great Roebuck. This happened to be the father of this chief. He ordered him to be called, and the old man received me as if I had been his own son, and led me to his cottage."—*Modern Universal History*, vol. xxxix. p. 399.

Inadequate means of improvement. Our third point was the small provision of means of improving the Indians by missions, by schools, and other institutions.

Existing
means for im-
proving the
Natives.

XXV. One of the last appeals made by Peter Jones in England last Autumn, was for help to found a Manual labour School at the River Credit; the appeal was made in vain. The government seems to leave this whole subject in a great measure, either to voluntary societies, such as the Colonial Missionary Society, the Colonial Infant School Society, the Moravians, the Baptists, the Church of England, and above all, the Wesleyan Missionary Society; or to such a body as the New England Corporation. The operations of the former Societies are well known to the Committee. They are highly useful, but the superior claims of more populous parts of the world, deprive the Canadas of a sufficient supply of missionaries from them.

The New England Corporation is less known. It originated in a subscription from parish to parish, in 1654, which raised £7000, and its funds were afterwards increased by the gift of landed estates. The income at present varies from £2000 to £15,000 a year, according to the value of timber cut from time to time. The usefulness of its establishments for instructing Indians, is recognized in the parliamentary documents above quoted, but no report of its proceedings is published.

The Society of Friends does not support any establishment for them in Canada; but they warmly advocate their cause; and when the Earl of Durham went thither, they presented to him an address in their behalf.

In the year 1806, the Duke of Northumberland and others, proposed to form a society to better the condition of the Mohawks.

The private Roman Catholic establishments for the benefit of Indians in Upper Canada, are also believed to have been eminently useful.

All these societies would do more, if they had more funds.

But it is quite plain to us that the government ought to make a *complete* provision on these heads, for which purpose not only is the experience of these societies important to be consulted,—but they may in many cases be properly made the *administrators* of the funds to be devoted to objects resembling theirs. In fact it is impossible to deny that Great Britain ought to provide at once all the funds needed for *all* proper institutions, calculated to protect and improve the Indians. This country holds an enormous fund in the lands acquired from them; and the Earl of Durham's commission has produced new proof, that the system of deriving an inexhaustible revenue from the sales of land is applicable to Canada.

The Indians
wish to be
civilized.

XXVI. The foregoing extracts, which have exhibited the advancement of Indians in many points of civilization, sufficiently indicate a disposition on their part to become civilized. But the policy of the several Governors of Canada, by which the efforts leading to that good result, originated in some degree in inquiries which produced direct evidence of that disposition being strong, and clearly pronounced. At a solemn meeting of Indians in a remote part in 1827, a speaker appointed by the whole band, addressed the commanding officer in the following terms:

“Father, we thank you for assembling your officers to listen to our discourse.

“Father, we have observed with some degree of jealousy the establishment of a place at Michilimackinac, at which (missionary school) the children of our great father (Indians) are taught the means of living in the same way the whites do, where they also learn to *mark their thoughts* on paper, and to think the *news from books* (to read and write) as you do; we have heard too, my father, something which gives us hopes that our great father will give us the means to live as the white people do.

“Father, our young men who carried your papers to York last winter, tell us, that our brethren about that place, who, like ourselves, were great drunkards, and bad people, are now become sober and industrious. The Great Spirit favours them because they know how to ask his blessing. I am sure if our fathers at York and at Quebec were acquainted with the misery and hardships we undergo, they would teach us how to be beloved of the Great Spirit (to become civilized), and we would be more happy.

“Father, our great father at York has given our brethren the means to cut up the ground, (plough), and has taught them to cultivate the land; how they are favored; we wish he would favor us in the same way.

“Father, we might send our children to Mackinac, to get sense, (be instructed) but we are not big knives, (Americans) therefore we wish you would deliver this our parole to our father at York, with your own hands, and tell him our wants. You have been a long time with us, and know our misery. Tell him we want such a house and good people as they have at Michilimackinac, to teach us to read and write, and to work; we have arms, as well as the whites, but we do not know how to use them. Our hearts are dark, we want them made white (become Christians); how we should laugh to see our daughters milking cows, and making dresses for us, and to see the young men beating iron, and making shoes for each other.

“Father, tell our father that we squeeze him hard by the hand, and trust that he will assist us; tell him we want some hoes and spades to dig with; don't leave our father until you get him to say yes.”

At another meeting in the same year, another speaks for the Chippeways:

“Our native brothers are desirous of forming a settlement, and we avail ourselves of this opportunity to address our great father on a subject of such deep interest to our tribe.

“Father, listen to your children.

“It is our desire to come together; many of us have thrown aside our former habits, and wish to adopt the habits of civilized life, to become Christians, and to worship that God which is known to the whites in the Good Book.

[Delivers two strings of white wampum.]

“Father, should our great father agree, we are desirous of being settled together, we shall then be enabled to pursue a regular system of agriculture, and greater facilities will be afforded us in following the precepts of our religious teachers. Those that have embraced Christianity already feel its happy effects.

The Yellow head delivered an address for the women to the same purport.

[Two strings white wampum,]

“He also delivered an address for the children to the same effect.”

These sentiments are consistent with our experience of many In-

dians, during more than three centuries, from the days of Henry VII., when some of them adopted English usages in a very remarkable way after a short residence in London, to our own times, when we have seen Brandt, and Peter Jones, and Heshtonaquet, making earnest efforts to bring civilization within reach of their respective tribes.

The Indians capable of becoming civilized. XXVII. Nor has this desire been vain. It was the remark of a secretary at war of the United States, General Knox, that the opinion was more convenient than just, *that the Indians could not be civilized*; a remark which is even more correct than the severe observation of Sir George Murray, when Secretary of State for the colonies in 1830, that "if on the one hand there existed a disposition in the Indians to cling to their original habits, *there was a proneness also in the new occupants of America to regard the natives as an irreclaimable race, and as inconvenient neighbours, whom it was desirable ultimately to remove.*"—House of Commons' Papers. 1834. No. 617. 688.

The foregoing experiments of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne, and others, in Upper Canada, immediately before Governor Head's time, appear to us to afford abundant proofs, that perseverance will overcome the difficulties hitherto thrown in the way of their civilization by our vacillation and injustice. The following extracts, from books of good authority, and by no means written to promote the interests of the Indians, or devoted to missionary objects.

In the Practical Notes on Canada by Adam Ferguson, an advocate of Edinburgh, published in 1833, it is stated, (p. 134) that in Brandford, belonging to the Mohawks, many of the Indians, by steady progress in acquiring knowledge, and in managing their farms, afford sufficient evidence of their capacity to be weaned from dissolute habits.

Another witness to the fact that Indians are capable of being civilized, Mrs. Jameson, is the more trustworthy, inasmuch as her narrative directly contradicts the theory as to their incapacity of civilization, which she unwisely admits, notwithstanding that her own experience of the recent date of 1836 and 1837, amply confirms the proof long and abundantly accumulated in their favour. The charming family scene among *improved* Indians mingled with the whites, introduced to the English reader by this clever writer, give an earnest of what the mass of them would soon become if their good tendencies were duly fostered. Mrs. Jameson was singularly fortunate in her opportunities of observing the Indians. At setting out she became personally acquainted with a remarkable member of a remarkable native family, into which she was ultimately adopted after the Indian fashion. This was the wife of a missionary of the Church of England, Mr. M'Murray, by whose attention another member of their family, Mrs. M'Murray's sister, married to the well-known and scientific American, Schoolcraft, was prepared to receive Mrs. Jameson, with a refined hospitality, justly repaid by our traveller's warm acknowledgments. The two sisters, and their

children, their brother, the interpreter, are charming Indian studies to Mrs. Jameson, to which a general reference only can be made. But it is impossible to pass by lightly their *mother*, who is "celebrated for her traditional lore, and her poetical and inventive faculties, inherited from her father, Waub-Ojeeg, the greatest poet and story-teller, as well as the greatest warrior, of his tribe."

Some of the traditions of this tribe, the Chippeways, are introduced into the narrative, from Mrs. Schoolcraft's translation.

Mrs. Jameson visited that tribe at the rapids of St. Mary, between lakes Huron and Superior, with Mr. and Mrs. Schoolcraft; and her description of what she witnessed, cannot fail of impressing the reader with the conviction, that it is sad blundering in Christian governments to subject such a race to a system of management, that destroys these elements of civilization.

This respectable mother of the family, was the widow of an Irish fur-trader, Mr. Johnston, to whom her father, Waub-Ojeeg, had given her "after making him swear that he would take her as his wife, according to the law of the white man, *till death.*" Mr. Johnston was prosperous; and his Indian wife lived happily with him for thirty-six years, till he died in 1828, leaving four sons and four daughters. He adhered to the English in the last war of 1812, and lost much property without obtaining any indemnity. At the peace *we* made over the country of this tribe to the United States; and recently, the Chippeways ceded an immense country to their government; but a large tract is *reserved* to Mrs. Johnston, who makes more than 3000lbs. of sugar in a year. "Her talents," says Mrs. Jameson, "her energy, activity, and strength of mind, and her skill in all the domestic avocations of the Indian women, have maintained comfort and plenty within her dwelling, in spite of the losses sustained by her husband; while her descent from the blood of their ancient chiefs, renders her an object of great veneration among the Indians."

The following extract presents Mrs. Jameson's first interviews with these *untameable* people.

"One of the gratifications I had anticipated in coming hither—my strongest inducement perhaps—was an introduction to the mother of my two friends, of whom her children so delighted to speak, and of whom I had heard much from other sources. A woman of pure Indian blood, of a race celebrated in these regions as warriors and chiefs from generation to generation, who had never resided within the pale of what we call civilized life, whose habits and manners were those of a genuine Indian squaw, and whose talents and domestic virtues commanded the highest respect, was, as you may suppose, an object of the deepest interest to me. I observed, that not only her own children, but her two sons-in-law, Mr. M'Murray and Mr. Schoolcraft, both educated in good society, the one a clergyman, and the other a man of science and literature, looked up to this remarkable woman with sentiments of affection and veneration.

"As soon, then, as I was a little refreshed after my two nights on the lake, and my battles with the mosquitoes, we paddled over the river to dine with Mrs. Johnston: she resides in a large log-house close upon the shore; there is a little portico in front with seats, and the interior is most

comfortable. The old lady herself is rather large in person, with the strongest marked Indian features, a countenance open, benevolent, and intelligent, and a manner perfectly easy—simple, yet with something of motherly dignity, becoming the head of her large family. She received me most affectionately, and we entered into conversation; Mrs. Schoolcraft, who looked all animation and happiness, acting as interpreter. Mrs. Johnston speaks no English, but can understand it a little, and the Canadian French still better; but in her own language she is eloquent, and her voice, like that of her people, low and musical; many kind words were exchanged, and when I said any thing that pleased her, she laughed softly like a child. I was not well, and much fevered, and I remember she took me in her arms, laid me down on a couch, and began to rub my feet, soothing and caressing me. She called me Nindannis, daughter, and I called her Neengai, mother, (though how different from my own fair mother, I thought, as I looked up gratefully in her dark Indian face!) She set before us the best dressed and best served dinner I had seen since I left Toronto, and presided at her table, and did the honours of her house with unembarrassed, unaffected propriety. My attempts to speak Indian, caused, of course, considerable amusement; if I do not make progress, it will not be for want of teaching and teachers.

“After dinner, we took a walk to visit Mrs. Johnston’s brother, Wayish,ky, whose wigwam is at a little distance, on the verge of the burial-ground. The lodge is of the genuine Chippewa form, like an egg cut in half lengthways. It is formed of poles stuck in the ground, and bent over at top, strengthened with a few wattles and boards; the whole is covered over with mats, birch-bark, and skins; a large blanket formed the door, or curtain, which was not ungracefully looped aside. Wayish,ky, being a great man, has also a smaller lodge hard by, which serves as a storehouse and kitchen.

Rude as was the exterior of Wayish,ky’s hut, the interior presented every appearance of comfort, and even *elegance*, according to the Indian notions of both. It formed a good-sized room: a raised couch ran all round like a Turkish divan, serving both for seats and beds, and covered with very soft and beautiful matting, of various colours and patterns. The chests and baskets of birch-bark, containing the family wardrobe and property; the rifles, the hunting and fishing tackle, were stowed away all round very tidily; I observed a coffee-mill nailed up to one of the posts or stakes; the floor was trodden down hard and perfectly clean, and there was a place for a fire in the middle; there was no window, but quite sufficient light and air were admitted through the door, and through an aperture in the roof. There was no disagreeable smell, and everything looked neat and clean. We found Wayish,ky and his wife, and three of their children, seated in the lodge, and, as it was Sunday, and they are all Christians, no work was going forward. They received me with genuine and simple politeness, each taking my hand with a gentle inclination of the head, and some words of welcome murmured in their own soft language. We then sat down.

The conversation became very lively; and, if I might judge from looks and tones, very affectionate. I *sported* my last new words and phrases with great effect, and when I had exhausted my vocabulary, which was very soon, I amused myself with looking and listening.

“Mrs. Wayish,ky (I forget her proper name) must have been a very beautiful woman. Though now no longer young, and the mother of twelve children, she is one of the handsomest Indian women I have yet seen. The number of her children is remarkable, for in general there are few large families among the Indians. Her daughter, Zah,gah,see,ga,quay, (*the sunbeams breaking through a cloud*,) is a very beautiful girl, with eyes that arc a warrant for her poetical name—she is about sixteen.

Wayish,ky himself, is a grave, dignified man, about fifty. He told me, that his eldest son had gone down to the Manitoolin Island, to represent his family, and receive his quota of presents. His youngest son he had sent to a college in the United States, to be educated in the learning of the white men."—*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Upper Canada by Mrs. Jameson.* Vol. iii., pp. 87. 183. 211.

Goodwill of some colonists to Indians. XXVIII. It was a glaring instance of error in Governor Head, to suppose that his project of removing the Indians would have the universal approval of the colonists of Upper Canada. Some of these colonists, speedily, as has been seen, rejected the imputations implied in that part of the Governor's despatch alluded to.

The Christian Guardian above quoted, and which may be called a missionary journal, is not at present the only Canadian newspaper that embraces the Indian cause. The Palladium published also in Toronto, designates the removal treaty of Sir F. B. Head, as "perfidious trickery," and his bargain for the land as "infamous;" and even so long ago as in 1821, when Dr. Morse went to Canada upon a mission from the Government of the United States, to form plans for benefiting the Indians, and he found warm co-operators on the province. The importance of forming a correct estimate of the real disposition of colonists towards the Aborigines, is obvious; and it may, we think, be safely conjectured that if the Government were compelled to be just and considerate, and active as in their favour, a powerful support from the well-disposed might be relied upon, whilst the errors, the lukewarmness, and false views of the Government, have the pernicious effect of even increasing the influence of their enemies.

Ravages of disease among Indians. XXIX. The ravages of diseases among the Indians, in consequence of communication with Europeans, are undeniable. In addition to the evidence offered to the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, by two members of your sub-committee on that head, it will be sufficient to refer in this report, to the notorious facts, that this people are generally healthy, and that the small-pox in particular, is often introduced by us with fatal effects. But the foregoing testimony as to the Indians of the Missionary Institution of the Credit, now shows that with due care, this and other diseases may be greatly lessened among the Aborigines of North America.

The tribes have all their medicine men; and will appreciate above almost all other things, the aid that we can afford them in hospitals, and by medical instruction and advice. The following account of the ravages of disease apparently introduced by white men, refers to the tribes connected with the United States, but the frightful picture, which is of recent facts, is strictly applicable to our tribes, within our borders.

SMALL POX AMONG THE INDIANS.

St. Louis, Feb. 27, 1838.

It appears that the effects of the small-pox among most of the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri surpass all former scourges, and that

the country through which it has passed is literally depopulated, and converted into *one great grave-yard*. The Mandans, consisting of 1,600 souls, had been reduced by the 1st of October last, to thirty-one persons. The *Gros Ventres*, or Minatarees, a tribe about 1,000 strong, took the disease a month later than their neighbours, the Mandans. One-half had perished, and the disease was still raging. They, no doubt, shared the same fate with the Mandans. The Ricaras, who had recently joined the last-named tribes, and numbered about three thousand, were most of them out on a hunting excursion when the disease broke out among the Mandans, and consequently received it something later. One half of *them* had fallen, and the disease was raging with unabated fury, not more than one out of fifty recovering from it.

“Most of those that survived subsequently committed suicide, despairing, I suppose, at the loss of friends and the changes wrought by the disease in their persons—some by shooting, others by stabbing, and some by throwing themselves from the high precipices along the Missouri. The great band of Assiniboins, say 10,000 strong, and the Crees, numbering about 3,000, have been almost annihilated; and, notwithstanding all the precaution used by the gentlemen engaged in the trade in that remote region to prevent it, the disease had reached the Blackfeet of the Rocky Mountains; a band of 1,000 lodges had been swept off, and the disease was rapidly spreading among the different bands of that great tribe, numbering, *I think*, about 60,000 souls. I have no doubt but the predictions contained in my letter of the 27th ultimo, will be fully realized, and all the Indians on the Columbia river as far as the Pacific ocean, will share the fate of those before alluded to.

“This is a melancholy statement. We take from the red men their fertile lands, and give them in exchange rum and the small-pox—the two most abhorrent scourges of the human race. But so it must be. Civilization will run its course, and the evils it carries in its train must have their victims. We may grieve, but we cannot hinder it. That it was by the agency of white men the Indians received the disease, is shown by the following statement, from the St. Louis Commercial bulletin.

The circumstances under which the disease was introduced are these: In the latter part of April last, Messrs. Pratte, Chouteau, and Co. started their steamboat, the St. Peters, with supplies for their various trading posts on the Upper Missouri, and she was destined to Fort Union, about 2000 miles above St. Louis, having on board, at the same time, the annuity goods due from the Government to a number of tribes on that river. When the boat arrived at the Black Snake Hills, a trading post sixty miles above Fort Leavenworth, and about 500 miles above St. Louis, there was a mulatto man on board, who became affected with what was then supposed to be the measles, but by the time the boat reached the agency for Council Bluffs, where the annuities for several tribes were deliverable, it was ascertained to be a case of small pox, and, as a matter of course, had been communicated to others on board, though they had not yet experienced its effects.

The boat was then far advanced into the Indian country, had passed several tribes, with whom it was not practicable, under the circumstances, to prevent an intercourse, some of whom had no doubt taken the disease; and it must be obvious to every individual at all acquainted with the situation and wandering habits of all the Indians in that region, that no human efforts could have checked the progress of the disease, or prevent it from being communicated from the different bands, when once introduced among a single tribe.

It is, we apprehend, needless to observe, that all responsible precautions were used by the whites to prevent such a calamity. The agents of government were on board, and independent of humane motives, both

the interest and personal safety of every white man in the country, rendered such a course necessary."

Settlement of boundaries indispensable. Territorial rights of Indians. XXX. It is an object of primary importance, that special negotiations be opened with the United States for the early settlement of all matters concerning the Indians connected with both countries, and that the reformed system of intercourse with them be agreed upon by the two governments, so as to lessen the evils in which Indians will share largely, and which threaten us, from the neglect of those matters along the whole frontier, from Upper Canada to the Columbia river.

In reference to this negociation with our civilized neighbours, respecting Indian affairs, it is indispensable that a collection of existing treaties with those Aborigines be printed without delay. In many cases also those treaties constitute already a reasonable guide to much that only requires to be well followed out in order to place our own relations with them on a satisfactory footing. A treaty is one of the first measures that a civilized government can adopt towards humanizing them. But the observance of treaties is far more important than making them; and it will be a miserable mockery of solemn engagements if they are either to be got by cajolery, and unfair influence, as of late they have been got; or if they are to be dealt with in the way of which the following is not a very rare instance:

"In 1713, the Aborigines of Nova Scotia were carrying their ravages into the heart of New England; and, though by the treaty of Utrecht, Louis XIV. ceded his pretended superiority over the Iroquois, yet at that time the French had obtained such an ascendancy over them, that they declared they would maintain their own independence upon the English.

As to the Aborigines, whose land fell within the cession of territory made to the English by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht, as being comprehended within the limits of Arcadia, or Nova Scotia; great difficulties occurred in the execution of that article. At length the English signified to the savages, that the whole country had, by treaty, become the property of the crown of England. The savages, though amazed at this, very sensibly complained to Vandreint, the French Governor of Canada, who made use of an evasion, unworthy a man of honour, and yet well adapted to encourage and confirm their dislike of the English; for he told them that no mention was made either of them or their lands, in the treaty of Utrecht. When the Governor of New England, in a conference with them, had convinced them of the truth, one of the chiefs replied, with great spirit, *that his Majesty of France might dispose of what was his own as he pleased, but that the Abenaguiss held their land from nature, and they would maintain their independence to the last child of their nation, who should be left alive.*"*

An able writer on colonial affairs, Dr. John Campbell, soon after the conquest of Quebec, urged the justice of obtaining the consent of the Indians to the cession of the Canadas, by France to England;

* Modern Universal History, vol. xl. p. 180.

and pointed out the sanguinary consequences of disregarding their rights, whilst he appealed to the public sense of justice in their behalf, as capable of being humanized by wise and vigorous measures.*

This correct view of the rights of the natives of North America was no new doctrine. It had been maintained in the 17th century by the friends and immediate predecessors of William Penn; and, in the 16th, by Las Casas; and we shall do little if we cannot now convey our sense of the binding power of such eternal laws of justice to the foot of the throne and to Parliament, with an energy proportioned to the urgency of our cause.

The reckless disregard of these principles, which has generally marked our subsequent intercourse with these tribes, must be abandoned; and there must be substituted for it a steady respect for their independence, which will probably be exerted to promote their own improvement; and, if we act wisely, to *incorporate* them gradually with Great Britain.

XXXI. The evils thus disclosed are mainly, we think, attributable, less to the character of the Indians, than to that of our own proceedings relative to them.

Remedies suggested for existing evils.

XXXII. The foregoing facts show, that Indian affairs are administered upon a wrong system; and that not only the measures affecting the Indians are defective, but that the colonial and home governments require a specific, although not extensive modifications. The abandonment of processes of civilization, long carried on successfully as far as they went, together with the adoption of the project of *removing* the Indians, could not have occurred, if but ordinarily good provision had existed, either in the colony, or in the Colonial Office in Downing Street, to give its full weight to the truth; and to insure them justice. To prevent such errors in future, effectual checks must, we think, be imposed upon the local governments; and the Secretary of State, who necessarily acts through subordinate instruments, should be preserved from an undue bias, and from prejudice, by new arrangements in his office.

An additional Under-secretary of State, expressly devoted to the affairs of the Aborigines, will we think form the most suitable assistant to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that could be devised. In addition to this new Under-Secretary of State for the Aborigines, there should be appointed, *for them*, an agent at home, whose duties should resemble those of ordinary colonial agents.

But we must not rely either on official protectors, who cannot every where be present, who may become supine, and who by possibility may be deceived or corrupted; or on the appointment of an additional under Secretary in the Colonial Office, whom information

* Modern Universal History, p. 250.

may not reach, and who may be deceived by misrepresentation. It is to the elevation of the Indians themselves, and especially to the bringing forward the most talented and promising amongst them in this country, as well as in the colony, that we must mainly look for the appearance and continuance of able and efficient protectors and elevators of their injured race.

XXXIII. Funds for all that is needed to protect and improve the Indians will be produced by the sale of Indian lands upon the new principle recommended in Mr. Buller's report to be applied to Canada.

The quantity of land got from the Indians by Great Britain since 1763, and contrary to the spirit of the proclamation of that date, have produced an amount of value that makes us already their debtors for whatever funds are at present wanted for objects beneficial to the Indians. Therefore we recommend, that proper measures be advocated forthwith, upon the assumption that money will be ready for the support of any measures shown to have a reasonable prospect of success in their behalf.

XXXIV. Religious missions, schools, and institutions for instruction in the arts, must be provided to the utmost extent needed; and ample provision must be made for placing young Indians, in all suitable cases, in the common colonial schools. We think it very important that these arrangements should include a provision for giving to the most promising and talented young persons a superior education, both in the colony and in Europe. It should especially prepare them for official situations, for civil engineers, and medical practitioners.

XXXVI. Until an Indian tribe be regularly incorporated with the colony, or individual Indians be naturalized, they should all be declared by statute to be entitled to the same rights as any other foreigners. As soon as possible, the tribes should be regularly incorporated with us by treaties; and acts of naturalization should be granted on application to individual Indians on being applied for.

XXXVII. All our laws which may happen to be inconsistent with justice towards Indians should be changed. For example, they should be relieved from the necessity of taking oaths as witnesses whenever want of knowledge, or the inadequacy of their own usages render them incapable of taking oaths.

XXXVIII. Their laws and usages should be carefully collected; and observed in our courts.

XXXIX. They, and any friends appearing voluntarily on their behalf, should be allowed of right to appeal to the Privy Council.

XL. We propose that a careful review should be taken of the existing mode of giving to the Indians what are called Presents; a great part of which, however, we believe to be payments for services already rendered to the British government. The main principle which, we think, should regulate this distribution is,—That the presents should be given as much as possible at the *homes* of the Indians, not at central stations to which they must make long journeys.

XLI. One of the most decisive means of protection and improvement of the Indians, will be the publicity of all that concerns them. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon its benefits. We think it might be most usefully resorted to, in all Indian affairs of importance, treaties, law cases, and the like, being communicated to the public in the London Gazette.

XLII. We reserve our observations, in detail, on the measures which seem important in reference to the Indian Trade, until we have fully examined the state of the tribes in the Hudson's Bay territories.

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